New Programme and New Constitution

of the
Revolutionary
Communist
Party, USA

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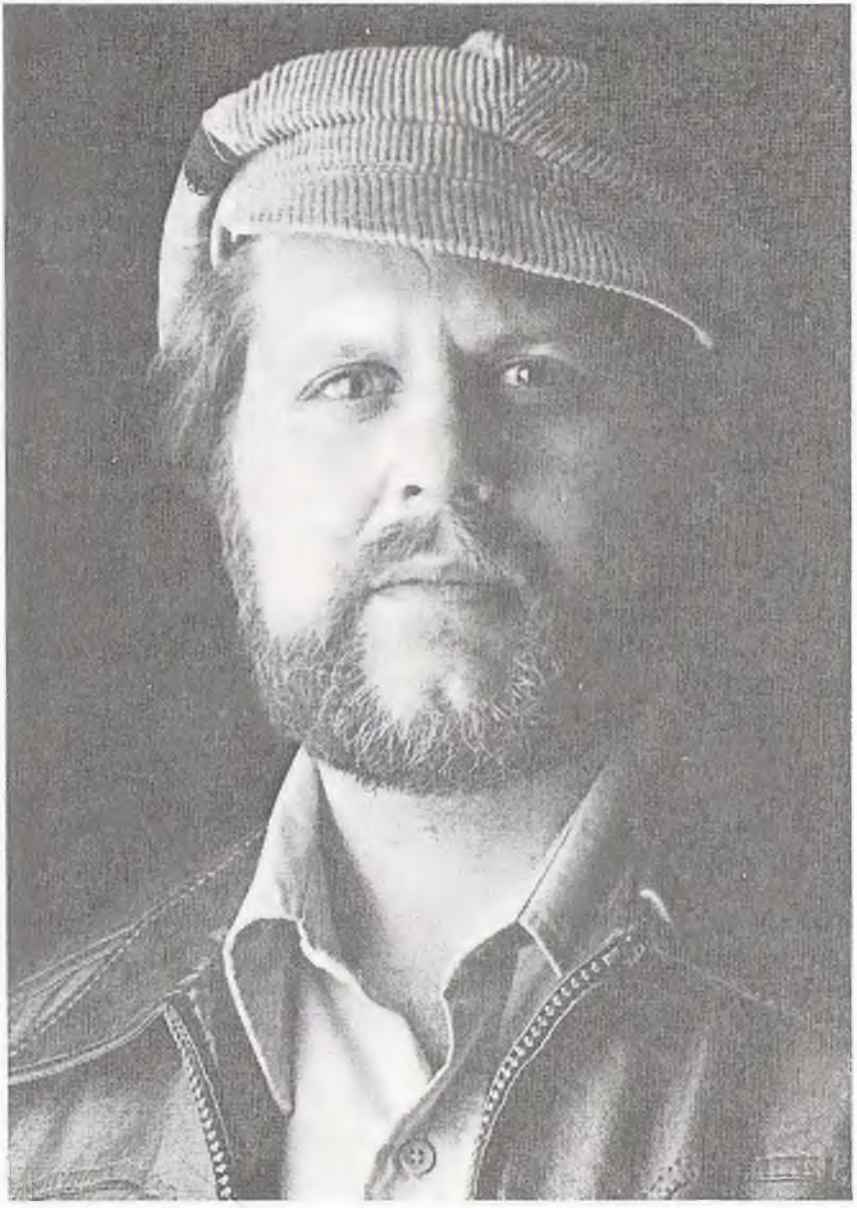

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Introduction

These are the final versions of the new Programme and new Constitution of the Revolutionary Communist Party, USA. They are products of great changes that have taken place since the first programme and constitution written at the time of the founding of the Party in 1975.

First of all, the world has dramatically changed. Although one of the greatest accomplishments of the Party at the time of its founding was the analysis it made that the situation in the U.S. and the world was sharpening and that in the decade of the '80s, the imperialist system was going to be deep in crisis and the rival blocs of imperialists heading into world war, today these truths are becoming much more sharp and immediate realities, felt by millions. And beyond that, the Party has begun to foresee the outlines of opportunities, perhaps unprecedented opportunities, for revolution, including in this country, shaping up in the '80s. This, more than anything, has both made necessary and has guided these new documents.

Another profound change has been the reversal of the revolution in China with the reactionary coup after the death of Mao Tsetung. This was a major setback, but it also put revolutionaries worldwide to the test—to go down the drain with the revisionists or to sum up the lessons and be able to advance in another wave.

There have been many great changes in our understanding since 1975, required and propelled in large part by the developments summarized above, and the difference between the programmes and constitutions written then and now reflects these changes. Much of the crusty reformism which has infected the revolutionary and communist movement—including the "Communist Party, USA"—has been cast aside, removing heavy layers of political fat which have weighed down the revolutionary movement in this country for many decades and has prevented serious

preparation for revolution. All this has been accomplished only through sharp struggle—struggle in the revolutionary movement broadly and struggle within our own ranks.

This process has continued with the preparation of these final documents. Drafts were published for public criticism and discussion in March, 1980. There followed a period of discussion both inside and outside the Party's ranks which was focused in letters in the *Revolutionary Worker* newspaper (this process included comments and criticisms from comrades internationally). These drafts were considerably strengthened through this process, particularly in their proletarian internationalist character. The final versions were adopted by the Party Central Committee.

With these documents, the Party is issuing a declaration of war, a call to action and a battle plan for destroying the old and creating the new. We are calling on all class-conscious proletarians, all revolutionary-minded people and all those oppressed by this system but awakening to political life and struggle to seriously study them, take them up and popularize them widely and deeply among the masses. Write us, meet with us to discuss them—and unite with us to carry them out.

Central Committee
Revolutionary Communist Party, USA
May, 1981

The Future, In This Country And The World, Is Coming Up For Grabs

There are moments rare in history. They may come only once in decades, but when they do, they place tasks and forms of struggle before the proletariat and oppressed peoples of the world which influence the course of things for decades to come. Today the world, including the U.S., is entering such a period. It is a time of crisis for a system which has subjected millions here and hundreds of millions internationally to daily agony, a system which in its normal times has almost uninterruptedly waged wars of plunder from one end of the globe to another. Such is the imperialist system, which is once again caught in a desperate and deepening economic and political crisis, fast approaching the point of worldwide explosion.

We who live in the U.S., one of the great citadels of this system of robbery and murder, face immense responsibilities and opportunities in this conjuncture. Today, as they have demanded of the people of the world, the rulers of this country also demand of the people here that we willingly and urgently ready ourselves to march—or be literally dissolved—into our graves in unprecedented numbers in order to perpetuate this imperialist system with the U.S. on top and provide future generations with this same "peace and prosperity"—and worse.

"There is no other way out, no way to return to the 'happy days' of the past, except for America to 'rise to the challenge,' rally its allies, meet and defeat the danger, especially from Russia, and revive America's position as 'number one in the world'—*at whatever cost*"—this is the message that is spewing forth in a sickening

and rising chorus from every mouthpiece and propaganda organ of the U.S. ruling class. And the same is true of all the imperialist ruling classes of the world. This is also particularly true of the Soviet Union, itself an imperialist power and, like the U.S., heading up an imperialist bloc for war. The masses there, those within its "socialist camp" and under its international domination as well as those oppressed by and fighting against Western imperialism, are told by the Russian rulers to swallow the same basic swill—but with a Russian flavor. The only way to secure peace in the world and bring progress for humanity, according to this version of imperialist gangster logic, is to depend on, and sacrifice millions of lives in the service of, the expansion of Russian "influence" and the replacement of the United States by the Soviet Union as the dominant world power.

No choice but to be enslaved by one or another of the several major imperialist powers; no choice but the victory of one imperialist war bloc or the other; no prospect but untold suffering and sacrifice and unparalleled destruction to maintain and strengthen this enslavement—this is the future the imperialists and their hangers-on declare for the people. *And they are right*—this *is* the only future—so long, *and only so long,* as the slaves of every country remain unquestioningly loyal and blindly obedient to their masters and set their sights and their aspirations no higher than the miserable horizons imposed by the ruling classes and the imperialist system.

But the whole history of humanity, as well as the present reality, shows that there is another path—the path which the oppressed in every society sooner or later take, the path not backward but forward—the path of resistance against and ultimately the revolutionary overthrow of their oppressors. Today, even as the imperialists on both sides are feverishly accelerating their preparations for world war in the face of their deepening crisis, revolutionary movements are gathering momentum and gaining strength in many parts of the world, confronting and pounding at the imperialist system and both superpowers.

Revolution is the only means to prevent world war. This is not some kind of general truth divorced from present reality, nor is it an abstract slogan with no concrete and immediate application. Only a major realignment of the world by the proletariat and its allies—only the overthrow of imperialism and reaction and the establishment of revolutionary regimes where the proletariat rules or is playing the leading role and is carrying the struggle forward to socialism in large and/or strategic parts of the world—only this can prevent the world war looming on the horizon. And should world war be brought about by the imperialists before it can be

prevented by revolution, then revolution remains the only way the masses of people can break free of the chains of exploitation and degradation of the imperialist system and its vicious cycle leading repeatedly to deeper crisis and more devastating war. While the imperialists and their reactionary retainers insist that there is no choice, no "freedom" but to be enslaved by one or another of them, and particularly that a war started by and fought between them can only end in the victory of one imperialist bloc or the other, the truth is that the only real choice, the only road to real freedom and the only war worth fighting for the masses of people, is a revolutionary war *against* these reactionary classes—and in fact that a war started by the imperialists must be transformed into a revolutionary war of the proletariat and oppressed masses in all countries to overthrow and shatter the grip of imperialism and reaction.

This Programme, while containing basic principles and general guidelines, is written especially with the immediate situation in mind. It is a battle plan for a period in which great challenges and great revolutionary possibilities are on the order of the day.

Proletarian Revolution Is The Only Resolution Of The Crisis In The Interests Of The Masses Of People

But in order to realize this long-cherished hope of the oppressed, in order for revolution to be thoroughgoing at this stage of the history of humanity and the development of society, it must be led by the one force in society that has no stake whatsoever in preserving the present order and compromising the basic interests of the masses of people. This force is the proletariat—an exploited class, laboring collectively with highly developed means of production but deprived of all ownership of these means of production, having no means to live except to sell its ability to labor and at the bottom of society's division of labor, the proletariat cannot abolish its own exploitation and oppression without abolishing them finally from society altogether; the revolution led by the proletariat and fulfilling its interests as a class has the historic mission not of replacing one group of exploiters with another, not bringing into being and fortifying a new system of degradation and plunder, but advancing society to a whole new epoch—communism—where class distinctions and their basis, as well as all the evils flowing from them, will be finally eliminated.

For several decades in the United States, on the basis of the outcome of World War 2 and the top-dog position that the U.S. assumed among the imperialists as a result, while revolutionary storms battered it from without and revolutionary upsurges erupted within the U.S. itself, reaching their peak in the late 1960s and early '70s, the prospect of proletarian revolution has been delayed and even seemed a flickering dream of a handful at most. From the enormous wealth lashed out of the oppressed people in

all parts of the world, and especially in the vast colonial countries brought under U.S. domination, the ruling class in this country has been able not only to prop and puff up its high-priced political prostitutes and enforcers at the head of the labor movement but to pass some crumbs from the spoils along to significant sections of the workers, and to maintain a relative stability within the U.S. while securing its allied imperialists under its "protection."

But where is it all ending up? Who today can fail to see or feel the vise of rampant inflation and rising unemployment, the intensified discrimination and attacks on oppressed peoples within the U.S., all accompanied by the overflow of social decay and flagrant political corruption? Who does not recognize that we are staring down the barrel of World War 3, held at the other end by the two superpowers and their respective junior partners? The 1970s, punctuated most dramatically by the recession of '74-'75, the most severe since the 1930s Depression and occurring simultaneously throughout the imperialist countries of the U.S. bloc, has been marked by the gathering forces of crisis and war. The 1980s will witness the storm in all its fury. But this means not only the real and immediate prospect of a global showdown between the superpowers but also the prospect of a showdown between the imperialists and their gravediggers, including the possibility of proletarian revolution within the U.S. itself.

In these conditions, while there was in the late 1970s in the U.S. a brief lull in social upheaval and mass political struggle, since then there has been renewed resistance against the imperialist ruling class and its attempts to resolve the crisis at the expense of the masses of people, including especially its more and more blatant war preparations. At the same time, among even broader ranks of the people there is a restless agonizing and profound questioning about the future, about the source of and solution to the pressing problems confronting them. Periodically, and more and more frequently, major political events and episodes in world affairs jolt masses of people awake to broad and deep questions, and the ruling class, especially in such circumstances, is increasingly forced to drag the masses into political life, in the effort to enlist them, literally and politically, in preparation for its holy war to "keep America number one."

Over the past decade and more, the working class within the U.S. has undergone significant changes. It has been influenced by and directly infused with the militancy of millions of Black people and other oppressed peoples, many immigrants from countries under imperialist domination, angry veterans of the Vietnam war, women no longer accepting their "place" and rebellious youth. It has seen crumbs shrivelling and its standard of living come under

real, if not yet all-out, attack; and it was hit broadside by the 1974-75 recession, during which it began to stir to mass resistance. For several years following that recession, the ruling class made a conscious decision not to intensify direct attacks on the employment and wages of a good section of the workers, as much as to resort to credit manipulations and inflationary policies. But this, and its economic and fiscal policies in general, have heightened the financial crisis within the U.S. and throughout its bloc. This has been accompanied by severe cutbacks in social services and the accumulation of tremendous and unprecedented debt on every level—national and international, at the level of local and state government and among families and individuals. And now, with no possible resolution of its overall crisis except through the waging and winning of world war, and therefore with the increasingly urgent need to shore up its bloc in preparation for this war, the ruling class in the U.S. must tighten the screws—on the financial structure nationally and internationally, on the overall economy and most especially on the masses of people, including the working class.

All these things are combining to rouse important sections of the working class from relative passivity, political dormancy and even slavishness. And beyond that, the proletariat in this country has among its ranks and at the head of its class-conscious section its own revolutionary political party, the Revolutionary Communist Party, USA, which is armed with the revolutionary outlook of the international proletariat, Marxism-Leninism, Mao Tsetung Thought, and is applying it concretely to develop the analysis, strategy and policies capable of leading the working class and its allies in preparing for and finally seizing the opportunity to make revolution, as one part of the world revolution, whenever the conditions for this become ripe here, including very possibly within the decade of the 1980s.

None of this, of course, can or will proceed in a straight line. The way will be punctuated by great world events, shocks of the system, outbreaks of struggle here, perhaps even revolutionary attempts in this country. It is even possible that this could lead to victories of the revolution actually capable of preventing world war. But the world proletariat may not succeed in stopping world war, and further while such a war represents an extreme concentration of the crisis of imperialism, the preparation for war and the war itself may strengthen in some ways and for a time the desperate efforts of the imperialists to tighten their hold over society economically, politically and ideologically. But, on the other hand, the very real horror of the prospect of such a war, and still more of the war itself, and the fact that U.S. imperialism must

throw its strength onto the front lines of this war from the very beginning, with no prospect of quick or easy victory and the certainty of suffering many defeats whatever the final outcome of the war—all this will greatly weaken and expose the imperialists. If the all-around preparation has been carried out among the working class and the masses, and especially among the increasing numbers of class-conscious workers, with the Party at the head, the situation may well arise within the next few years in which a mass uprising can be launched to overthrow the imperialists and make a great contribution to resolving the world imperialist crisis in the interests of the proletariat and the great majority of humanity.

Each revolution or revolutionary struggle in the world contributes to the whole process of world revolution. Such struggles in other countries have contributed, and will continue to contribute in a major way to revolution in the U.S. At the same time, a revolution in the U.S., an advanced, powerful capitalist country, will represent an unprecedented breakthrough for the international proletariat in its worldwide struggle to abolish capitalism and all forms of exploitation and advance to communism. It will strike a devastating blow against the imperialist system and reaction everywhere, demolishing one of their most powerful bulwarks and greatly assisting and accelerating the revolutionary struggle of the people of all countries. It will change the face of the world and hasten the final emancipation of all humanity.

Weighed against such momentous potential opportunities, as well as the unparalleled suffering looming directly before the masses, the presently still low level of political consciousness and struggle among the broad ranks of the working class and masses of people in this country stands out sharply, but more than that poses a tremendous challenge to all class-conscious workers and others who recognize or are awakening to not only the historic goal but the urgent necessity of proletarian revolution in the U.S., as part of the world revolution. This emphasizes all the more the responsibility of such advanced, politically aware forces, however much they may be a minority right now, to unite their ranks around the line and leadership of the Party, prepare for the future in an all-around way and march powerfully onto the political stage, holding aloft the banner of the international proletariat and actively rallying broader ranks of the working class and masses in this country to its revolutionary movement.

In the years ahead, as millions and tens of millions are drawn into political life, into sharpening debate and struggle, what road they take—and whether they fight and sacrifice in the cause of preserving the enslavement of the world's people, and their own as an inseparable part of that, or in the historic battle to abolish that

enslavement—will depend not only on the objective conditions but also to a significant degree on the stand and actions of the class-conscious workers, all along the way as well as at the decisive hour. The banner of the working class will be increasingly claimed and contested for by both the class-conscious proletariat and the labor lieutenants of the capitalist class, for both the representatives of the proletariat and those of the imperialists recognize, with opposite viewpoints and opposite aims, the potential role of the working class to overthrow imperialism. Within the working class two camps, representing two roads, will be increasingly shaping up and facing off: those, a privileged aristocracy representing the minority who will cling to the bribes imperialism affords them and fight to keep U.S. imperialism supreme in order to ensure the blood-soaked spoils; and those who have no stake in this system, representing the great majority, who lead the masses in fighting for their real interests—to forge a revolutionary way forward out of this outmoded and barbarous system.

The outcome of the battles of this coming period, both in this country and internationally, will affect the future of the entire world for many years, perhaps even decades, to come. This future must be wrested from the hands of those who, at the cost of unspeakable misery and destruction for the people of the world, are determined to preserve—and chain humanity to—the past!

Proletarian Revolution Requires The Armed Seizure Of Power And Continuing Struggle By The Masses To Overthrow And Finally Eliminate The Capitalist System, The Bourgeoisie And All Class Distinctions

"A revolution," wrote Mao Tsetung, "is not a dinner party, or writing an essay, or painting a picture, or doing embroidery; it cannot be so refined, so leisurely and gentle, so temperate, kind, courteous, restrained and magnanimous. A revolution is an insurrection, an act of violence by which one class overthrows another." This expresses in concentrated form a fundamental truth of human history. Since classes first emerged with the development of exploitation out of the old primitive communal conditions, society has been propelled forward by class struggle and has made the leaps from one form to another, higher, form only through violent collisions and confrontations, and marked by twists and turns, leading to the replacement of one ruling class by another which, at that time, is capable of organizing the economic foundation and the corresponding political and ideological superstructure of society on a more advanced level. As Karl Marx graphically summed it up, "Force is the midwife of every old society pregnant with the new."

So long as society is divided into classes, in whatever form, the economics and politics as well as the ideas, culture, etc. of society will be dominated by one class or another—they cannot serve all classes, exploiter and exploited, oppressor and oppressed, master

and slave, equally—and whichever class can in any period organize society in such a way as to most rationally utilize the productive forces at hand will ultimately come to power and prevail during that period. But these productive forces are continually being developed—new tools, machinery, technology and with them new skills and knowledge—and therefore the old ways of organizing productive activity, the old forms of relations among people in production, are transformed from the most appropriate means for developing the productive forces into fetters on their development. Along with this, a new class which has developed within the old form of society, but which represents a higher form of organizing production to utilize the new productive forces, is propelled into struggle to realize this and seeks to reorganize society accordingly. But in doing so it comes directly up against the fact that the old form is enforced by the political domination of the ruling class, and that this ruling class, whose political institutions and ideas correspond to the old mode of production, cannot and will not recognize that its time has past and that its system must be replaced by a higher one. Thus, in such periods the new and rising class assumes the leadership of the resistance of the oppressed masses and carries out in this way the revolutionary overthrow of the old ruling class and the replacement of the old system by a new one which corresponds to the outlook and interests of this rising class—and, for the time, to the further development of society. In this struggle both the rising and the reactionary class are led by the most conscious representatives of their class—and in particular the role of the leading force of the revolutionary class is of tremendous importance in making it aware of and galvanizing it in action around its own interests in opposition to those of the old ruling class.

Such has been the actual history of human society and its advance from one epoch to the next. And it is a universal truth that never has the old ruling class willingly stepped aside, but on the contrary it has always used the most vicious and desperate means to preserve its dominant position and could be swept aside only by violent revolution. In short, all forms of governing class-divided society, whatever their outer shell, have always in essence represented the dictatorship—the political domination backed up by armed force—of one class or another; and the forward, upward march of humanity has, since the time classes and states emerged, taken place only through the overthrow of the old state—the dictatorship of the old ruling class—and its replacement by a new state—the dictatorship of the new ruling class.

This fundamental principle certainly applies to the revolution of the present epoch—the proletarian revolution. The capitalist class, which arose within feudal society and ultimately led the

struggle to overthrow it in past centuries, has beyond all doubt outlived its historical usefulness and can only act in this period as an obstacle to further progress—its mode of production strangles the development of the productive forces and repeatedly hurtles not only individual countries but increasingly the whole world into ever more paralyzing and destructive crisis. Whatever development it does achieve in its thrashing is only at the price of continued immense suffering. Yet the capitalist class certainly does not recognize or accept its demise—it not only regularly brings down murderous repression against any serious resistance and systematically terrorizes especially those from whom it most fears rebellion, but it time and again plunges millions of people into war in the attempt to save its system and protect its dominant position. What is the history of the United States of America, if not this!

And this has become all the more pronounced since the turn of this century with the development of capitalism into its highest and final stage—imperialism—capitalism which has come to be marked by the domination of monopolies and international finance capital, not only living off the exploitation of the working class in a few "home countries" but parasitically sucking the lifeblood out of peoples and whole nations throughout the world. Imperialism is capitalism in decay and on its death-bed, when it has become even more a fetter on the development of the productive forces and society as a whole and therefore becomes all the more violent. Imperialism, even more than the earlier, competitive stage of capitalism, means war—war to suppress the resistance of the colonial peoples and oppressed nations, to enforce imperialist plunder and ensure imperialist superprofits; and war among the imperialists themselves, who have already carved up the world and must repeatedly hurl the entire world into military conflict in the battle to redivide it. How can reforms or "peaceful change" bring an end to all this? Where or when have they ever done so? Right now, with the world imperialist system entering a conjuncture marked by the sharpening of all its basic contradictions and heightening developments toward world war, can anyone seriously believe that there is any way to abolish such towering evils, any way to break the stranglehold of the imperialists on society and the world except through violent revolution? Only the imperialists themselves and their allies and flunkies have an interest in holding and spreading this illusion—and those among the people who cling to it will be jolted awake to reality in the coming years!

The revolution of this era, the revolution led by the proletariat, though it will assume different specific forms and proceed through different stages in different countries, depending on the concrete

conditions, can and will succeed only through the mobilization of the masses of people to carry out an armed uprising to overthrow the dictatorship of the imperialists (and allied reactionaries) and to establish the dictatorship of the proletariat, the one class which at this stage can reorganize society in every sphere in conformity with the development of the productive forces. This need to violently overthrow and replace one class dictatorship with another is true of the proletarian revolution certainly no less than any other, previous revolution. But the proletarian revolution is, on the other hand, fundamentally different from any previous revolution: it aims not at the replacement of one system of exploitation by another, though higher, system of exploitation, but at the abolition of exploitation in any form; and its historic mission is fulfilled not merely through the overthrow and replacement of one class dictatorship by another, but through the final abolition of any form of class dictatorship with the elimination of class distinctions themselves.

All prior transformations of society, though they advanced it from a lower to a higher level and made possible the further development of the productive forces, nevertheless took place on the foundation of relatively backward and more or less slowly changing productive forces. But capitalist society, within which the proletariat emerges as the main productive force itself and the revolutionary class, is characterized by highly developed productive forces which constantly undergo rapid change. This is especially so during the early, vigorous period of rising capitalism. In its later, imperialist period, the changes capitalism stimulates are far more convulsive—growth in particular sectors and countries is more spasmodic and uneven while decay and ruination is more pervasive in other sectors and countries, all of which fundamentally weakens the imperialist system—with increasingly devastating periods of crisis resulting from imperialism's basic contradictions. Thus, capitalism has laid the basis for an unprecedented development of society, without scarcity and without therefore the basis for antagonistic social conflict. But capitalism itself, especially in its imperialist stage, has become the very force that stands in the way of the realization of this potential, and the longer capitalism prolongs its existence the deeper become the antagonisms within it, and especially its basic antagonism between highly socialized production and private appropriation of social wealth in the hands of fewer and more bloated exploiters and parasites.

But, at the same time, this very process means the growth of the proletariat, carrying out this socialized production and representing the potential of socialized ownership of the means of

production to conform with it. This lays a stronger material basis for the proletariat to become conscious of the role and historic mission of its class and to lead the masses in socialist revolution. And, too, capitalism in its early stages was necessarily accompanied by vigorous, tradition-challenging advancement of the natural sciences. This, along with the progressive splitting up of society into two basic camps—the proletariat, representing the majority, and the bourgeoisie (capitalist class), a smaller and smaller minority—made possible for the first time a thoroughly scientific view of society and the world, the recognition of class struggle as the motive force of society's development and of the ultimate outcome of that class struggle—the achievement of classless society, communism, through proletarian revolution. This science, then, the science of Marxism, is both objective and partisan—it corresponds both to the actual development of nature and society and to the interests of the proletariat, which is an agent not just of revolution in this period but of a revolution unprecedented in human history and leading it to a whole new and qualitatively higher era.

For all these reasons, the way in which the proletariat wages the revolutionary struggle both to win power and then to transform society under its rule—its class dictatorship—cannot help but be qualitatively different than in any prior revolution. While previous historical classes, in their rising period, were forced to mobilize the masses in order to overthrow the old ruling class, they had neither the need, the interest, nor the capability of enabling the masses to consciously grasp the essence of the revolutionary process and their own role in it and to consciously take hold of and transform society in their own interests. In fact, this was impossible in those earlier periods of human history. But the proletarian revolution of this epoch is impossible *without* this.

In past societies, the productive relations characteristic of the new society would begin to appear spontaneously and alongside the old ones within the shell of the old society—for example, capitalist workplaces in feudal society. But this is impossible under capitalism, because exploitative relations can only be abolished by abolishing them and their basis throughout society. There can be no such thing as socialism in one factory, or in one part of society. This is another aspect of why the socialist revolution has to be a conscious act whereby the proletariat takes control of the superstructure through a political revolution and only then can begin to establish the new socialist productive relations.

Further, unlike all previous revolutionary classes, the proletariat, upon coming to power, cannot simply consolidate its political rule and economic system and then fortify them against

further change. Quite the opposite: it must continue to transform society and the people, including its own ranks, in every sphere, material and ideological, fostering, strengthening and advancing the economic, social and political relationships representing the future communist society and developing and achieving the dominance of communist consciousness and its scientific outlook and method in opposition to those of the bourgeoisie and all other classes. As Marx and Engels expressed it in the *Communist Manifesto,* the proletarian revolution involves the most radical rupture with all traditional property relations and with all traditional ideas as well. And all this also establishes and emphasizes the fact that the conscious leadership of the proletariat, its vanguard party, plays an even more crucial role in the proletarian revolution than in all previous ones.

What will be the measures taken by the proletariat in this country, once having won political power? What follows can only be a general outline, conditional on vastly changeable world events. But the basic first step of the proletariat, having won political power, is to take into its hands, through its state and the leadership of its party, the decisive levers and lifelines of the economy. It quickly expropriates the factories, land, machinery, etc. of the overthrown bourgeoisie, beginning with the largest concentrations of capital, and exercises firm control over finance and trade. On this basis it is able to take great strides in rationalizing the productive process and begin eliminating the mad anarchy of capitalism with its frenzied chase of a competing handful for profit and such criminal absurdities of capitalism as unemployment. In short, it socializes ownership of the major means of production, and institutes basic overall planning of the economy in accordance with this, through the proletarian state. And all this constitutes a tremendous leap forward, laying the basis for and opening the way to both a tremendous development in the economy and further transformation of society in its economic foundation and its political and ideological superstructure.

But this is precisely the beginning, not the end, of socialist transformation. With regard to the many small producers and traders, the intellectuals of various kinds and others—the middle strata of society—the proletariat in power must apply a long-term policy of both unity and struggle, with the aim of transforming their economic position, political stand and ideological outlook through a protracted, step-by-step advance. While the proletariat can and must exercise ruthless dictatorship over the overthrown bourgeoisie and other outright enemies of the revolution and socialize their vast holdings almost in one stroke, it cannot and must not apply this policy to the middle strata. Instead, it must

lead and organize them to develop forms, depending on the conditions (such as cooperative ownership and collective labor as possible steps) through which to progress to socialized state ownership—and to take part in the political movements launched by the proletariat and remold their world outlook in accordance with the socialist revolution and the ultimate advance to communism.

Because of all this, and more generally because upon overthrowing capitalism and the bourgeoisie the proletariat will inherit the divisions and inequalities left over from the old society—between mental and manual labor, between the city and the countryside and workers and farmers, as well as between different nationalities, men and women, etc.—for all these reasons, and even more because it is a worldwide struggle, it is impossible to make the advance to communism in one leap or in a short period of time. Communism can only be finally realized on a world scale, and this has profound implications for the struggle of the proletariat, including in those countries where it comes to power. For one thing, the proletariat in such countries will still find itself confronted and perhaps surrounded by hostile imperialist and reactionary states which will attempt every means to crush, subvert or otherwise destroy the socialist states. But even beyond this, between capitalist and communist society there lies a long transition period of socialism in which the proletariat in the various socialist countries must adhere to proletarian internationalism, actively promoting and supporting the world revolution, must maintain and strengthen its dictatorship and the socialization of ownership of the means of production, strike at, restrict and move toward eliminating the differences and inequalities left over from the old society and transform the thinking of the people according to the scientific principles and outlook of Marxism.

Thus the socialist transition period is not a smooth, broad freeway leading directly and quickly to communism, but a tortuous path, full of twists and turns and marked by sharp struggle. Within each socialist country, the remnants of capitalism will continually give rise to a new bourgeoisie that will repeatedly attempt to seize power from the proletariat and restore capitalism, and in so doing it will seek to make use of the contradictions within socialist society to mobilize a social base of more privileged strata and play upon backward sentiments within the working class itself, as well as seeking support from and alliances with imperialist and reactionary states.

The experience of the proletarian revolution and socialist society, both the historic victories and advances as well as the temporary defeats and setbacks, has shown not only all this but even more specifically that the heart of the new bourgeoisie engendered

in socialist society lies within the party of the proletariat itself, especially at its leading levels. Under these conditions, where the party is both the leading political center of the socialist state and the main directing force of the economy—in which the state is the decisive sector—the contradiction between the party as the leading force and the working class and the masses under its leadership is a concentrated expression of the contradictions characterizing socialist society as a transition from the old society to fully communist, classless society. This can be resolved in the interests of the proletariat only by developing the forms of mass struggle and mass organization to draw the millions of working people into the administration of society and the determination of political questions and affairs of state as well as culture and all other spheres of society, in accordance with the revolutionary outlook and interests of the proletariat, while involving the intellectuals, and especially party officials, in mass political struggle as well as productive labor and other activities together with the masses and developing mass movements to promote the study of Marxism and the remolding of the world outlook of the people. But inevitably, until the transition to communism is carried through worldwide, there will be repeated attempts to restore capitalism by bourgeois elements, and most dangerously by leading Party officials who have betrayed the proletariat and turned their position of leadership into private capital but continue to claim the mantle of Marxism and communism.

This emphasizes all the more that the proletariat cannot rest content with the first great steps of seizing power through armed force and then socializing ownership, beginning with the major means of production. It must continue the struggle under these conditions to revolutionize all of society and not only defeat attacks, subversion and pressure from external enemies but actively assist and support the revolutionary movements of the workers and the oppressed peoples and nations throughout the world against imperialism and reaction. Further, as a crucial part of this continuing class struggle within socialist society, the party itself must be continually revolutionized—which means driving out those die-hard party members, especially within its top ranks, who are determined to take the road of capitalist restoration, but more fundamentally it means linking the party as a whole with the masses in the continuing and deepening struggle to transform all of society and the world, including the thinking of the people, and advance along the socialist road toward the historic mission of communism.

That the new conquers and supersedes the old, and that this happens only through repeated and intensifying struggle, and

through twists and turns in a spiral-like development—this is a basic law governing the development of all things. It is a fundamental truth in the history of human society no less than in nature as a whole. Capitalism and the bourgeoisie represent only what is old and dying at this stage in history; regardless of what resistance they put up and how much violence they unleash in the attempt to hang on, they are bound to be overcome and eliminated by what is newly arising, the proletariat. But beyond that, and in fact together with the final victory of the proletarian revolution internationally, the proletariat itself and its socialist society will also grow old in the future and be superseded by communism with the abolition of all classes. What makes the proletariat different, however, from all previous classes is that it has nothing to fear or lose from this future and in fact aspires to and works and struggles for it.

In general throughout the world, including in the U.S., the first great step of the proletarian revolution—the seizure of power through the armed overthrow of imperialism and the bourgeois state—remains and demands urgently to be taken. Not only has there been no proletarian revolution in this country, there has before now been no serious attempt at or even preparation for it. This has been due both to the remaining strength and reserves of the imperialists, especially since World War 2, and importantly, if secondarily, to the weaknesses, errors and outright deviations from Marxism on the part of the communist and revolutionary forces. Now, however, we are on the threshold of a period in which there is the real possibility that the objective conditions necessary for revolution may develop—the weakening and desperation of the imperialists and the accompanying unrest and upheaval in society, stirring the broad masses, stimulating revolutionary sentiments in significant sections of them, and driving the advanced especially to seek a radical way out. And there is a party, the Revolutionary Communist Party, USA, which is actively preparing its own ranks and the masses for that day of reckoning.

While this country has never seen a revolutionary struggle for power led by the proletariat, it has certainly witnessed revolutionary mass movements shaking the foundation of this country if not yet capable of overturning it. In particular in the '60s, the ruling class was on the defensive politically. The division of opinion in society on the cardinal questions of the day was not at all unfavorable to the revolutionary side, even within the proletariat, large sections of which were somewhat protected from the shocks of the time by the reserves of the ruling class and its conscious policies. Add to this "'60s alignment" a significant section of the proletariat actively in the fray and a lot could start happening.

Precisely this possibility lies in the presently appearing conjuncture. There is today not only the profound and deepening economic and political crisis and the imminent danger of world war, but there are, increasingly, minor political shocks that jolt society and awaken growing numbers to political life. These are but tremors before a gigantic earthquake.

In all these events the embryo of a revolutionary crisis can be discerned. When, for example, in the thunderous rebellions of Black people and other oppressed peoples that have erupted, the police and then the national guard are unable to enforce "law and order," when even the power of the army units called in has been challenged, if only for a few days, a bright glimpse of the future can be seen where the authority and power of the ruling class is no longer capable of intimidating and bludgeoning the masses into submission and all the suppressed outrage not only explodes but is channeled and directed toward its source and toward the solution—the capitalist system and its overthrow. Or when coal miners massively strike and rebel, even defying the federal government and sending shockwaves throughout the country—such potential can also be seen even in militant economic struggle such as this. Or, when millions of people are suddenly engaged in active debate about world affairs, when they are urgently seeking answers to fundamental questions and open to new ideas even while still under the sway of the old, backward ones propagated by the bourgeoisie, here, too, is a taste of the future when the "normal routine" of life will be disrupted throughout society by political debate and struggle and the even more urgent search for answers and solutions, not only in theory but in practice.

Or, again, when in Vietnam the bourgeoisie's main pillar—its own army units—began to crack and rebel, at times massively challenging the military authority to the point of battling other units sent to quell them—this too foreshadowed the future storm. All this gives a glimmer of what it will look like when oppressed nationalities are in rebellion, when they are joined by significant sections of the proletariat of all nationalities, with the class-conscious proletariat able to march at the forefront of all the oppressed in revolt, when other workers go over from economic to political strikes, when big sections of the masses are not only engaging in large demonstrations, marches and street battles with the police but finally go over to various forms of armed struggle organized by various revolutionary forces and when all this is led by the Party into a coordinated uprising and revolutionary warfare, defeating and disintegrating the bourgeoisie's armed forces and winning over large numbers of their rank and file soldiers in the process.

As yet, of course, the imperialists still are able to maintain the great majority of the people in a state of relatively passive submission and routine subordination to the established order and authority. But as things develop, punctuated by sudden breaks and leaps in the situation, they will be forced more and more to reveal their true nature and to more nakedly rely on the decisive edge of their political domination—their armed dictatorship over and violent suppression of the masses. Even now, the imperialists use their armed forces and weaponry not only to suppress mass rebellion but to intimidate the masses from rebelling in the first place. But the more social upheaval deepens and spreads, and especially the more that the crucial element of the class-conscious workers becomes a growing force and influence within this, the Achilles heel of the bourgeois armed forces will be further exposed—for, despite its awesome arsenal, it must still rely on its basic military units to occupy territory and put down rebellion, but these units are drawn overwhelmingly from the youth of the proletariat, the oppressed nationalities and the oppressed masses generally and are forced, through all kinds of degrading methods of indoctrination and intimidation, to fight against their own interests and their own class brothers and sisters. As the old authority begins to be seriously challenged and to break down, many will come over to join the revolutionary struggle led by the class-conscious proletariat, especially if there is—as there will be—the firm leadership of the Party, armed itself and arming the masses with the correct line, strategy and policies, with a clear sense of the revolutionary way forward.

Such is the basic situation that will confront the Party in the future. There will be revolutionary masses under various banners, many revolutionary forces—even revolutionary armies—in the field, there will be uneven tempo, setbacks and advances, political demagogues and vying programmes, there may even be several revolutionary attempts at power—and all this will be subject to tremendous variability depending on the situation internationally as well as in this country. It is precisely in this complex and chaotic situation that the Party's leadership will be tested—and absolutely necessary for revolutionary victory.

A United Front Under Its Leadership Is The Proletariat's Strategy For Revolution

In order to actually make proletarian revolution, it is necessary to not only understand the basic nature and objective of that revolution and to grasp the relationship between the two basic forces that battle it out through the course of the revolution—the proletariat and the bourgeoisie—but also to analyze and deal with the other important forces in society, so as to be able to unite with or at least neutralize the greatest number, isolate the enemy to the greatest degree and strike the most powerful blows against it.

Proletarian revolution in the U.S. is inseparable from the proletarian revolutionary process on a world scale, and the proletariat in the U.S. is one detachment of an international class. All the revolutionary struggles in the world aid and assist one another—and, still more, all are objectively part of, and must be consciously developed as components in, the worldwide advance toward communism. In this era of the highest stage of capitalism there are two great forces or streams of revolutionary struggle against imperialism in the world: the proletarian-socialist revolution in the capitalist-imperialist countries like the U.S., and the anti-imperialist democratic revolution in the colonial (including neo-colonial) and dependent countries. This latter force is not only a powerful ally of the proletarian-socialist revolution in the advanced countries, but, under the leadership of the proletariat and its party, this stage paves the way for and is followed by the socialist revolution and the construction of socialist society in the colonial and dependent countries themselves. Especially in an im-

perialist country such as the U.S. it is extremely important to recognize that imperialism has produced a major division in the world between a handful of advanced capitalist countries and a great number of oppressed nations comprising a large part of the world's territory and population, which are parasitically pillaged by the imperialists and maintained in an enforced state of subordination and dependence. The end result of this is the development of an immense force against imperialism and for the international proletarian revolution.

Imperialism and reaction in general, with the U.S. and the Soviet Union as its most powerful bastions, are the enemies of the international proletariat. The international proletariat and its allies must deal with the increasing danger of world war between the rival imperialist blocs by intensifying their revolutionary struggles, striving to prevent world war through revolution or, if that does not prove possible, to turn that war into revolutionary war—civil war in the imperialist countries and revolutionary warfare against foreign imperialism and domestic enemies in the colonial and dependent countries—directed immediately against the reactionary class forces in each country that must be overthrown in order to advance toward socialism but always carried out as part of and in unity with the overall world struggle against imperialism and reaction in general.

This whole international situation, struggle and alignment of forces will influence to a significant degree the specific nature of the alliance formed in the proletarian revolution in the U.S., the specific forms alliance will take and even the degree of concessions that must be granted by the proletariat to those previously occupying relatively privileged positions. In this context it is also of crucial importance to determine in a basic way which forces within the U.S. itself can be firmly united with, which can be won over or at least neutralized (as Lenin pointed out, "friendly neutrality" can sometimes decide the issue) and which must be uncompromisingly struggled against and defeated in the process of proletarian revolution. This requires and depends upon a scientific estimate of the various classes and strata, as well as other significant social forces, within the U.S.—their position and role in this country at this stage, and specifically how they are being and will be affected by the present and deepening crisis—and therefore what will be their attitude toward and relationship to the class struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie, and in particular the highest stage of that struggle, the armed contest for power.

While the bourgeoisie is obviously the enemy of the proletariat and the target of the proletarian revolution, it is necessary to examine the main features of this class in the U.S. today—which in

fact it attempts to conceal in order to deny its domination of society and the magnitude of its crimes. And it is also necessary to determine which are the forces the bourgeoisie can and will rely on in its attempt to preserve its rule and prevent and defeat proletarian revolution.

Because capitalism in the U.S. has long since developed into its imperialist stage, the bourgeoisie in this country is characterized not by a fairly large number of small-scale owners managing their own enterprise with a few dozen or even a few hundred workers, but a small handful who hold the controlling interest in huge monopolies and financial institutions—banks, insurance companies and the large industrial corporations—which completely dominate the economy of the country, despite the widely propagated fairy tales to the contrary. Today in the U.S. the top 200 corporations control nearly 2/3 of the industrial assets; the 10 largest banks control outright 25% of bank capital and dominate another 50% through their holding companies and affiliates. A mere 1% of the population controls 1/2 the total investment assets. And the finance capitalists in the U.S. have huge holdings throughout the world—controlling, even by greatly understated official figures, about *$200 billion* in direct investments alone (that is, not counting loans and other forms) in other countries.

These imperialists have both an interest and a necessity in not only maintaining but intensifying and expanding this exploitation and plunder at home and abroad, and of course in preserving at all costs the system that both allows and forces them to do so. Now they are preparing greater attacks on the masses in this country and internationally and the monstrous crime of world war in the attempt to preserve their system and dominant position in the world. Ask no mercy and give none in return—this is the only method the proletariat can employ in dealing with them. And, in general, the bourgeoisie as a whole—including the numerically greater but less dominant and less significant capitalists who do not have controlling interests in monopolies and large financial institutions or major international investments, but who do depend for their income on the labor of their employees *and* accumulate very large sums in the process—will ruthlessly attack any attempt to abolish the system that is based on the exploitation of labor by capital and will tirelessly attempt to restore this system once it has been overthrown; this class must be violently overthrown and forcefully suppressed by the proletarian revolution and the proletarian dictatorship.

Also within the enemy camp and part of the target of the proletarian revolution and proletarian dictatorship are the loyal political agents and enforcers of the bourgeoisie and its dictator-

ship: big-time politicians, high-ranking military officers, heads of the government bureaucracies and in general those who willingly perform the role of suppressing and terrorizing the masses of people—the police, judges, prison officials, etc. While a very few individuals among these groups (and among the bourgeoisie itself) may desert that class and actually come over to the side of the proletariat, as a whole their position and role in society conditions and requires them to treat the masses of people as bitter enemies; the masses can only respond accordingly, and if they did not they would condemn themselves to remain slaves and condemn the proletarian revolution to failure. In the same category as the above groups are the labor lieutenants of the capitalist class at the heads of the unions, whose position and generally high salaries—and not insignificant investment opportunites—are the direct product of the exploitation of the mass of workers in this country and still more so the superexploitation and plunder in other countries, especially the neo-colonial countries and oppressed nations. They play a special role in the bourgeoisie's machinery of political domination over the working class and in spreading its chauvinist propaganda and general ideological poison among the ranks of the workers; and this role will be even more significant as the situation and the class struggle sharpen. Certainly such crucial service to imperialism should not go unrewarded—and it definitely will find a just reward when the proletariat rises in revolution and seizes power!

The working class, of course, is the main and leading force in the proletarian revolution. This class is, in addition, the largest class in the U.S., a majority of the population. While in the final analysis its size is an advantage for the socialist revolution, it also poses certain specific problems. It is necessary to examine the strategic significance of the various strata *within* the working class itself. The whole working class will not be won in a single bloc to the revolutionary banner; some strata have more of a stake in the present system. This is not only because there is a large working class in the U.S., it is also a product of imperialism, which has transformed a handful of countries into parasites sucking extra-fat profits from hundreds of millions of the masses in the oppressed nations in particular. The result of this is that sections of the working class (and petty bourgeoisie) in this country are tossed a share of the spoils to corrupt them into watchdogs of imperialism. Only a relatively small number, an aristocracy of labor, are permanently corrupted, while a much larger number experience only a temporary benefit at most, which erodes with the development and deepening of serious crisis. And significant sections, lower and deeper in the ranks of the working class, remain more or less in the

classical position of a propertyless proletariat—with the extra added attraction of living in a tinseled, decadent imperialist society.

While some have risen above this status, for the millions who have not the words of the *Communist Manifesto* ring out true and clear about their condition:

"...a class of labourers, who live only so long as they find work, and who find work only so long as their labour increases capital. These labourers, who must sell themselves piecemeal, are a commodity, like every other article of commerce, and are consequently exposed to all the vicissitudes of competition, to all the fluctuations of the market.

"Owing to the extensive use of machinery and to division of labour, the work of the proletarians has lost all individual character, and, consequently, all charm for the workman. He becomes an appendage of the machine, and it is only the most simple, most monotonous, and most easily acquired knack, that is required of him. Hence, the cost of production of a workman is restricted, almost entirely, to the means of subsistence that he requires for his maintenance, [and to bring up future generations of workers]....

"No sooner is the exploitation of the labourer by the manufacturer, so far, at an end, and he receives his wages in cash, than he is set upon by the other portions of the bourgeoisie, the landlord, the shopkeeper, the pawnbroker, etc."

There is today in the U.S. a considerable section of the workers whose conditions of life are more like those of a real proletariat than those of the more privileged strata, which includes even many workers in large-scale basic industry. This lower, proletarian section itself includes many industrial workers (often in smaller-scale industries), as well as some service workers (many hospital workers, for example) and some other occupations. In fact, one of the characteristics of this group is the instability of its conditions —not infrequently being tossed in and out of work and from job to job. Included in large numbers among these proletarians are many from the oppressed nationalities within the U.S. as well as many immigrant workers. Still there are many whites, too, in this position, and large numbers of women as well as men. The conditions of these proletarians will strongly tend to propel them to leap at the chance for revolutionary change as soon as the opportunity presents itself. Their actions will undoubtedly stimulate others to take a similar revolutionary stand.

While the bulk of these proletarians in the lower strata work in industry, many of the roughly 21 million industrial workers in this country occupy a somewhat more privileged position. This is particularly true in many of the most socialized industries. This bour-

geoisification is not the same deep-seated, basically permanent phenomenon that it is in the true labor aristocracy, made up of highly skilled workers. But it is real, nonetheless. These are the industrial workers who hold the more stable production jobs in large-scale and unionized industry, as well as such things as transport and utilities. Wages here are higher, fringe benefits larger and opportunities for promotion greater. These things tend to offset the often miserable and unsafe conditions of labor. Security, too, is often beefed up with things like SUB pay—all of which adds up to the fact that these workers have acquired a stake of sorts in these jobs.

While much of this is eroding, and may well be completely yanked out from under these workers at some point, still such leaps—while very important—cannot totally change the outlook that has arisen on the basis of the better-off position they have occupied for some time before. All of this, together with the special attention the imperialists will give to keeping these workers in line, will tend to hold them back from being the "first to move." Still, for these workers life is at best tolerable, and not at all fine, and big sections of them will certainly play a major role in a successful proletarian revolution.

The better-off position of a section of the industrial workers, while partly resulting from their struggles over the years, is even more the result of the top-dog position the U.S. imperialists have occupied for a number of decades and of a conscious policy they and their agents have been able to pursue in the period since the 1930s Great Depression and World War 2. Before that time, the masses of unskilled workers in these and other basic industries suffered extreme conditions of exploitation and severe poverty; they were largely unorganized and the capitalists in the main viciously resisted attempts at unionization among them. But, through the depths of the 1930s Depression, militant struggle erupted throughout basic industry which seriously threatened the bourgeoisie, despite the fact that through the erroneous line of the Communist Party, as well as spontaneously, it remained almost entirely limited to economic questions. Finally recognizing (better than the Communist Party perhaps) the potential revolutionary role of these workers, and unable to forcibly suppress this mass struggle for unionization, except at a very high political price, the capitalists conceded to it and maneuvered to contain and control it and the unions it produced.

Then, through the war and especially on the basis of its strengthened position coming out of it, and assisted by the total degeneration of the Communist Party, the bourgeoisie both strengthened the domination of its labor lieutenants at the heads

of these (and other) unions and provided a significantly higher standard of living, if only for a time, for a sizeable section of the industrial workers—often, however, through schemes that benefited one section of the workers at the expense of another, such as agreements that allowed for the reduction of the work force in an industry over a period of time in exchange for raising the wages of those still remaining. While there was resistance to this, in the late 1940s and even throughout the 1950s and '60s—the heyday of U.S. imperialism—it was by and large crushed and the capitalists were in the main able to succeed with this policy.

The point of all this is, of course, not to forecast exactly how things will develop, nor certainly to give up on some of these better-off sections of the proletariat. Lenin once pointed out that, "We cannot—nor can anybody else—calculate just what portion of the proletariat is following and will follow the social-chauvinists and opportunists. That will be revealed only by the struggle, it will be definitely decided only by the socialist revolution." The essential point is to base the Party's line and activity on revolutionary principle—principle which corresponds to the interests of the great majority, who have *no* interest in maintaining this decadent, moribund imperialist system.

There are many non-industrial workers in this country (40 million in fact)—who work in such occupations as service, sales and clerical jobs. While some of these, particularly among the service workers as mentioned above, are part of the most oppressed sections of the proletariat, large numbers of them work under conditions which are more individualized and more privileged than those of the basic proletarians. On the other hand, not only do they share the same basic condition of having their labor and their lives subordinated to capital, but they are generally becoming more proletarianized. Increasingly they are being hit with various "mass production" schemes, which both further degrade and further socialize them and their conditions of labor. Much office work in particular is being restructured along "assembly line" designs, with a large number of workers being replaced by machines and those left being fastened more tightly to them under the command of a small elite of systems designers.

Over the past two decades many immigrants and Black people and other oppressed nationalities have entered these jobs. And clearly these strata of the working class have also been hit hard by the downward spiral of crisis. Together with the rest of the proletariat, they will in large numbers in the coming period be propelled into sharp struggle against the bourgeoisie and its intensified attacks and, with the future development of a revolutionary situation and struggle, can be won in their great majority to side

with, or at least adopt a position of "friendly neutrality" toward, the class-conscious proletariat.

There are also several million employees on various levels of government (federal, state, local). This is a broad and contradictory category, which includes on the one hand middle and high level bureaucrats and police and on the other a significant number of "blue collar" workers. Obviously the former will not only side with but are and will be an important weapon of the bourgeoisie against the proletariat. Among the majority, however, including not only the "blue collar" workers but also many lower-level functionaries, while dependence on the government for employment as well as their generally less socialized conditions exerts a conservative influence on them, already many have waged hard-fought strikes and other battles against the government. Increasingly they are victimized by cutbacks and other attacks, and in the conditions of a revolutionary crisis and still more so the actual struggle for power, when everything goes up for grabs, large sections of them will be won to fight in or side with the camp of the proletariat.

The agricultural proletariat, though small in numbers in the U.S. today, has an extremely important role to play in the proletarian revolution, and the unity between the industrial and agricultural workers is a decisive question for this revolution, both before and after the seizure of power. Without this unity it will be impossible to conquer both the cities and the countryside, to feed and otherwise maintain the revolutionary army of the proletariat and to transform society upon winning victory in the revolutionary war. The potential for this unity has already been powerfully demonstrated in the heroic struggles of farmworkers in this country over the past 15 years and more, which have struck real blows against the bourgeoisie, inspired broader sections of the working class and the masses of people and played an important part in propelling the overall struggle against U.S. imperialism.

Including not only the more than 600,000 regular farmworkers (those working 150 days a year or more) but also the 5 million seasonal wage-workers in agriculture—and not even including the fairly large numbers of the more or less permanently unemployed farm and rural population—the agricultural proletariat in the U.S. is considerably larger than the number of farm owners, and in many cases farmworkers' labor is becoming increasingly socialized. This is very favorable for the proletarian revolution in the U.S. So, too, is the fact that many industrial workers have close ties (family and otherwise) with farmworkers—and this is especially true among the millions of Black people who, in the period since World War 2, were forced off the farmlands and into the urban in-

dustrial proletariat. In addition, among the farmworkers there are today a large number of Blacks, Chicanos, and Mexican and other immigrants (legal and "illegal"); this has infused farmworkers' struggles with increased militancy and revolutionary sentiments and will be a very important factor in the development of the revolutionary movement among the agricultural workers and the proletariat as a whole.

Under capitalism, to paraphrase Karl Marx, the overwork of one section of the proletariat is the basis for the idleness of another—not only is unemployment an inevitable and essential feature of capitalism, but successive generations of workers are forced to produce the capital which increasingly leads to the displacement of a part of their class and to the intensification of the labor of those still employed. This, plus the parasitism of imperialism, has resulted in the fact that in the U.S. there are millions—probably as many as 10 million or more—of the working class population who are more or less permanently unemployed—capable of working, desiring to work but forced instead into the degradation of welfare or even more desperate means of survival. A very large part—if, in absolute terms, a minority—of these cast-out sections of the proletariat are oppressed peoples. Even according to the official government figures, the unemployment rate for Black people and "other minorities" is twice the average (meaning more than twice that for whites), and in a number of major cities for the "Black and other minority" youth it is admitted to be as high as 40-50%—millions entering or seeking to enter the workforce with little or no prospect of ever finding a job—under this "best of all possible systems"!

In addition, especially in times of serious crisis such as the present period in the U.S., millions more are thrown out of work for long periods. Especially in recent years, many, particularly among the older workers, have not found re-employment even when there has been a temporary recovery. Due to this, and the fact that many others are permanently disabled in the flesh-grinding capitalist production mills, the unemployed population rises further.

Overwhelmingly, the unemployed, including the more or less permanently unemployed, are, in their family connections and in their conditions of life, including the search for work, a part of the working class under capitalism—an indispensable part. But more than that, they are an extremely explosive part. Not only is this true in general, and not only has their explosive force made itself powerfully felt in urban rebellions as well as other forms of struggle, but the imperialists must to a large degree depend on the unemployed, including masses of unemployed youth from among the Black people and other oppressed peoples, for their armed

forces. This is a great potential weapon of the proletariat, especially with the development of a revolutionary situation. And in general the unemployed will be a powerful component of the working class in the proletarian revolution, with many brave fighters from among them surging forward in the front ranks of the armed struggle for power.

At the opposite end of the working class is that not insignificant minority of workers—especially among those who are highly skilled and relatively individualized in their mode of labor—who constitute what Lenin called an aristocracy of labor. These are the privileged strata, numbering in the millions, who have received bribery from the spoils of imperialism well beyond the crumbs temporarily passed along to sections of the unskilled workers. They form the main social base of the heads of the labor union bureaucracy and in general of the bourgeoisie within the working class and are a major vehicle for spreading patriotism and other forms of chauvinism among its ranks. They have more or less permanently become a bourgeoisified group, in their conditions of work and life and in their outlook. While it is impossible and incorrect to draw hard and fast lines, and while even this group itself is made up of different strata, some more and some less privileged, and while further even this labor aristocracy is increasingly feeling the weight of the crisis and is forced to sacrifice some of its privileges, nevertheless the bourgeoisie will make serious efforts to maintain this group as a base for reformism and even outright reaction and to utilize it as an important weapon against the revolutionary movement of the proletariat. While keeping the door open to winning some to its cause and some others to a position of neutrality, the class-conscious proletariat must fiercely combat the influence of the labor aristocracy within the working class and its role as a prop for the imperialists.

One of the significant factors—and a very favorable one for the proletariat in the U.S.—is the degree to which women are part of the workforce, including the industrial proletariat. Almost half the employed working class in the U.S. today are women; and, although the majority of women are employed in service, sales, clerical and similar occupations, more than 1/3 of the workers in manufacturing are women. Despite the lying propaganda that women do not really need to work, the actual situation of the masses today, and the increase of women in the workforce itself, prove the opposite—including the significant fact that there are over 3 million women production workers who are heads of families. All this strengthens the basis both for the fight against the oppression of women and for women to play a powerful role in the overall class struggle.

The women's movement of the past decade and more, although it has generally been led by middle class forces and has been strongly influenced by the bourgeoisie and its political representatives and agents, has overall made an important contribution to the fight against imperialism and has had a positive influence on the proletariat as a whole. Partly as a concession to the struggle against women's oppression and to the need of increasing numbers of working class families for women to break into better paying jobs, women have made some inroads into previous "male only" occupations, not only among professional and business categories but within the working class itself. On the other hand, the bourgeoisie certainly has not abolished, nor even reduced, its classical treatment of women. In some ways it has become more "advanced," decadent and degrading than ever. Especially in recent years, their "concessions" have been partly due to a calculated move on the part of the imperialists in carrying out their preparations for world war, in which they will need women in unprecedented numbers both in all kinds of employment and in the armed forces. However, this will prove to be another weapon that explodes in the hands of the bourgeoisie, as more and more women, and in particular proletarian women—including also housewives in working-class families—are increasingly influenced by and drawn into broader experience and political life. Women in the working class will play a crucial role, and the fight against the oppression of women will be a powerful force for the working class as a whole, in the proletarian revolution in the U.S.

As mentioned above, owing to the whole history of their oppression by the ruling class in this country, in various forms down to today, the majority of Black people and other oppressed peoples in the U.S. are concentrated in the lowest strata of the working class. At the same time, especially in response to the civil rights movement and still more the mass urban rebellions of the 1960s and early '70s, a significant increase occurred in the employment of Black and other oppressed peoples in all sections of the industrial proletariat, including such generally better-off sections as auto and steel. And, even though these concessions have come under attack in the past few years, these workers make up 13% of the total industrial proletariat and 16% of the assembly line and similar workers. But even in the somewhat better-off occupations, discrimination means that these workers are forced and locked in large numbers into the lesser-paying, dirtiest and most dangerous jobs, and especially are barred from many of the skilled positions and trades, except in token numbers. The fact that quite a few of these workers from oppressed nationalities are today in somewhat more privileged sections of the proletariat adds another important

potential advantage to the proletarian revolution. Both because of the national oppression experienced by these workers, and because of the often related experience in political struggle many of them had, especially in the 1960s, they do now and will increasingly in the future have the role of a kind of lever within these strata generally—influencing still broader numbers of these workers of all nationalities toward a revolutionary position.

Further, discrimination and segregation has the concrete effect not only that Black people and other oppressed peoples are crowded into the worst housing, but also that they face the worst of inadequate social services, are hit the hardest by cutbacks and general deterioration in the cities—and on top of it are forced to pay for the privilege of being oppressed in this way. It has been calculated that there is a hidden "tax" amounting to $1000 a year or more, in the form of higher food prices, insurance rates, etc., on the average Black family. Thus, for example, if a white and Black worker hold exactly the same position and receive the same paycheck (with the same deductions, etc.) in reality the Black worker is, on the average, receiving $1000 less a year. The majority of Black workers live in the central cities, held in huge numbers in the worst slums; the majority of white workers live in suburbs or even rural areas (though not in the more "exclusive" suburbs reserved for better-off sections of the population).

Discrimination, and national oppression in general, is both extremely profitable for the bourgeoisie and a crucial political weapon, wielded directly against the oppressed people but also, fundamentally, at the entire working class. It is a major stumbling block to the development of a class-conscious revolutionary movement of the working class. But, on the other hand, the determined struggle waged by the oppressed people against this, along with their concentration in large numbers in the most exploited sections of the working class, provides a powerful inspiration and impetus precisely for the development of such a movement and for proletarian unity forged in the fight for its revolutionary interests.

Historical and continuing national oppression, and sharp conditions of inequality, along with the constant ideological barrage of white chauvinism, has led to real national divisions in the working class. This has been especially marked during the period when the U.S. working class has been politically backward overall, but this question—including not only actual discrimination but the corresponding ideas, which assume a relatively independent life in the form of racism—has its own particularities. Combatting all this is a crucial part of the revolutionary struggle. The class-conscious proletariat must do this by working at it from two sides: it must unite with the struggles of the oppressed nationalities,

fight for the line and outlook of the revolutionary proletariat and bring forward the most advanced forces in these struggles, training them in this line and outlook—developing them into revolutionary fighters for all. On the other hand, there is the even more fundamental task of bringing forward the class-conscious proletariat of all nationalities to the front ranks of the fight against all oppression, including especially the fight against national oppression. All this is a decisive part of building the unity of the working class together with its allies.

The *solid core* of the united front the proletariat must build under its leadership is the revolutionary alliance of the class-conscious proletarian movement as a whole with the struggles of the Black, Chicano, Puerto Rican, Native American and other oppressed peoples against the common enemy—the imperialist system and bourgeois dictatorship. Numbering in the tens of millions and suffering discrimination and other forms of oppression as peoples, while at the same time in their great majority part of the single proletariat in the U.S., concentrated in its most exploited sections, the oppressed peoples in the U.S. are a tremendously powerful force for revolution. Their fight for equality and emancipation is bound by a thousand links with the struggle of the working class for socialism and lends it great strength. Large numbers of people of these oppressed nationalities will, together with class-conscious white proletarians, fight consciously and directly under the proletarian revolutionary banner; others will fight under various revolutionary nationalist banners. The forging of the alliance between these two forces, around a program only realizable through and serving the proletarian revolution, will be key to the victory of the socialist revolution in this country.

But among these oppressed peoples there are different class forces. In order to ally the movements of the oppressed peoples most closely with the proletarian revolutionary struggle, it is crucial to bring forward and rely on the masses of workers in these oppressed peoples' movements and to build the revolutionary unity of the working class as a whole as the most fundamental unity. The class-conscious proletariat, of all nationalities, with the Party at the head, must lead the united front, in order to forge and strengthen the solid core, build that united front as broadly as possible and carry out the historic task of proletarian revolution.

At the same time and toward the same end, a critical question for the proletarian revolution is how to win over or at least neutralize as much of the petty bourgeoisie as possible. Literally, this term means small capitalists, but it is actually used to refer to the various intermediate strata between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie. This is a very large and diverse group, including those

farmers who employ little or no wage-labor, the owners of rather small-scale factories, real estate companies, commercial enterprises, etc., along with small shopkeepers and in general self-employed working people, as well as various intellectual and professional strata and lower-level supervisory and management personnel. Altogether, the petty bourgeoisie makes up perhaps as much as 1/4 to 1/3 of the total population in the U.S. Clearly, the question of where the petty bourgeoisie will line up, and how the proletariat can win over or at least neutralize as much of it as possible, is as complex as it is vital for the proletarian revolution.

The history of capitalism, especially in its imperialist stage, in the U.S. and elsewhere, shows that as crisis deepens and the revolutionary working class movement develops, the bourgeoisie increasingly attempts to mobilize the petty bourgeoisie against the proletariat and in particular to turn the desperation of the ruined petty bourgeoisie into a social basis for reactionary mass movements. Some sections of the petty bourgeoisie can be influenced in this direction, out of a desire to preserve their small capital and/or "independent" position above the proletariat; and for this same reason as well as the fact that much of the petty bourgeoisie shares in the spoils of imperialist plunder to a much larger degree than the bulk of the proletariat, the petty bourgeoisie is highly susceptible to the patriotic appeals and other chauvinist propaganda of the imperialists.

On the other hand, the very process of capitalist development, and in particular the domination of monopolies and finance capital in the imperialist stage, tends to crush the petty bourgeoisie—to ruin small capital and rob the professionals, intellectuals, etc., as well as small owners, of much of their "independent" position, forcing many into the working class and converting many others into salaried employees of large corporations and the government bureaucracies. This has been a marked phenomenon in the U.S. and has accelerated with the development and deepening of the present crisis. It has given rise in recent years to a number of sharp struggles, including among farmers and independent truckers as well as teachers, nurses and even sections of doctors and other higher-level professionals; and in some cases in the course of these struggles, those involved, while generally retaining their petty-bourgeois outlook, have united with the proletariat and the oppressed masses.

The petty bourgeoisie, and especially the intellectuals, while recognizing the horrors of war, and world war in particular, tends to oppose such war with a pacifist stand. This means not recognizing, as the class-conscious proletariat does, that such war is an inevitable feature of imperialism and even more that it also may pro-

vide the opportunity to overthrow the ruling class and make a leap toward a brighter future. The imperialists will seek to use this pacifism to turn the petty bourgeoisie against a proletarian revolutionary attempt. And further, these imperialists, pointing hypocritically to "Soviet dictatorship" and making use of the general democratic prejudices of the petty bourgeoisie, can strongly influence them behind patriotic calls to support a "necessary" war to "defend the national interests," "defend democracy," etc. But the proletariat also can and must unite with anti-war sentiments among the petty bourgeoisie and struggle to win them to support, sympathize with or at least remain neutral towards an armed uprising of the masses to overthrow imperialism. And the possibility of winning them over will increase as it becomes clear that this represents the only possibility of preventing or pulling out of an imperialist war and when it also becomes clear that such a mass uprising has a real chance of succeeding.

Actually, only a minority of the petty bourgeoisie are well-to-do, earning large sums of money from their own employment and/or investments of various kinds. Most only dream of getting rich—and some have even given up that dream—while many are quite poor. For the majority, the only future is hardship and the threat of ruin under imperialism, and this becomes particularly acute and accelerated in periods of severe crisis. The more resolutely the proletariat fights for its own class interests, while consistently pointing the spearhead of that struggle against the imperialist system and exposing it as the source of the suffering of the people, the broader the sections of the petty bourgeoisie it will be able to win over or neutralize, especially with the development of a revolutionary situation. And the more the class-conscious proletariat does all this, while constantly pointing to the future goal of communism, the better basis there will be to undertake the long-term struggle to thoroughly transform the petty bourgeoisie and win ever broader numbers to the conscious struggle for a classless society worldwide.

Finally, within the U.S. there is a fairly large lumpen (literally, "broken") proletariat. This is the criminal class in society—though actually it is not a single class, but is drawn from different classes and has a sort of class structure within it, all the way from the heads of major crime syndicates to more or less full-time petty thieves. The former are not only vicious vultures whose criminal organizations must be smashed and destroyed, but are generally interwoven with the legitimate robbers of society, the bourgeoisie, and most often have considerable legitimate business investment intertwined with their crime operations. They are obviously deadly enemies of the proletariat and targets of the proletarian revolu-

tion.

On the other hand, most crime in the U.S.—that is, most crime for which people are caught and punished and excluding therefore the largest part of the extensive "white collar crimes" and big, organized crime of all kinds—are petty offenses. While some of this is committed by lumpen proletarian elements, whose life depends on and centers around criminal activity, most of it is committed by people from the working class driven to desperation, especially the long-term unemployed. While in the main the victims of these crimes are workers and other oppressed masses, and while for that and more fundamental reasons the proletariat stands for the elimination of this and all crime, the class-conscious proletariat recognizes even more importantly that crime is an inevitable product of capitalism and its ideology, that the basis for crime can only be eliminated through the revolutionary struggle to overthrow and abolish capitalism and the bourgeoisie and eliminate all class divisions, and that the majority of criminals are themselves victims of this system who can and will be remolded through this same revolutionary struggle.

With regard to prisoners in particular, the majority of whom are from the working class and close to 1/2 of whom are from the oppressed peoples—including many poor people of all nationalities who have not committed crimes but are tried and convicted because they are poor—the stand of the class-conscious proletariat is to unite with and support them where they fight back against their barbarous conditions and especially where they take up a revolutionary stand and consciously link their struggle with the overall fight against the imperialist system. This has happened on many occasions, particularly since the time of the '60s upsurges, and has provided a powerful source of inspiration and many valuable lessons for all those who hate this system and its injustices and want to fight against them. And this will be still more the case as the overall revolutionary movement develops—including the fact that increasing numbers of revolutionaries will themselves be jailed. Prisons under capitalism are not, as is sometimes claimed, "rehabilitation centers," nor, as is more often declared, a place where "society puts 'animals' to keep them from inflicting harm on law-abiding citizens." They are instruments of bourgeois dictatorship whose purpose is to terrorize the masses broadly, and to further degrade them. In the process of seizing power, the revolutionary movement will storm the prisons, guns in hand, break open the prison doors and offer the masses of prisoners the chance to join the revolutionary army; the class-conscious proletariat will firmly unite with those who take this road, will unleash and guide their tremendous hatred for this

system and lead them in struggle to fully remold themselves into fighters for the proletarian revolution.

As for the full-time but small-time criminals—those who by their conditions and outlook have become regularly involved in this kind of activity—while they often come into conflict with the police and other arms of the state, they also extensively cooperate with the police and are not infrequently recruited as police spies and provocateurs in the revolutionary movement. Overall, they are most likely to serve as agents and shock troops of the ruling class in its attempts to crush the revolutionary struggle, and historically they have been a major recruiting ground for fascist and other reactionary movements. With the development of its revolutionary movement, and especially as it gains strength, the proletariat will be able to win over some from this group, particularly when things reach the stage of armed struggle. But this will be possible only by exercising an absolutely firm hand and sharply struggling to instill in them the revolutionary outlook and discipline characteristic of the proletariat.

Summing up then, a basic analysis of the main forces in U.S. society leads to these general conclusions: in order to carry out the socialist revolution, the proletariat must and will be the main and leading force; the bourgeoisie, with the monopoly finance capitalists as the dominant force, is the target of the revolution which must be overthrown and suppressed; this enemy will find firm support and shock troops particularly among the labor aristocracy and reactionary sections of the petty bourgeoisie; the main and closest ally of the proletarian revolutionary movement is the struggles of the oppressed peoples for equality and emancipation; and the class-conscious proletariat can and must, through the course of the revolution, win over or at least neutralize a majority of the petty bourgeoisie, and even a section of the labor aristocracy, especially as the revolutionary mass movement develops and grows more powerful (some of the lumpen proletariat can also be won over). This represents the basic class and social content of the united front under proletarian leadership as the strategy for proletarian revolution in the U.S. today. It enables the proletariat to determine friends from enemies, unite its own ranks, win over its allies, isolate the enemy to the extreme and build the broadest united front to attack and overthrow this enemy and establish the proletarian dictatorship, under which it will continue the struggle toward the goal of communism. The way in which all of this comes down, including not only the specific character and degree of unity with petty-bourgeois strata but even the alignment within the broad category of the working class itself, is and will be greatly influenced by the world situation, including the alignment

of forces and the character of the struggles internationally.

The revolutionary struggle is not a straight-line process, nor is the question of the forces involved a static thing. Thus, while the analysis above is indispensable for developing and carrying out the strategy for revolution, that strategy must be applied in a living way in accordance with the development of the objective situation and the class struggle in the U.S. and internationally in order to actually make revolution.

At the present time, not only is the proletariat not leading a broad united front against the ruling class, but the level of political consciousness and struggle of the working class itself is still quite low, and in general there is not as yet a high peak of political activity and struggle among the masses of people. But, on the other hand and more importantly, the crisis in which the ruling class is caught—and to which it has no possible resolution short of going to war and achieving a favorable re-division of the world—this crisis, as it develops and its nature and implications become clearer, is awakening and will continue to awaken broader ranks of the working class and other sections of the people to political life and propel them into struggle. This provides the proletariat, as represented by its Party, with a rare opportunity to expose and attack the ruling class, to rally broader forces in striking at it and turn the widespread unrest and the now smoldering, now erupting anger of growing numbers into a powerful movement of millions aimed at the ruling class and led by the Party toward the goal of overthrowing it.

All this, again, will not proceed in a straight line. As more and more people do awaken to political life and are propelled into struggle, not only will there be different class forces involved but among the working class itself, as well as among its present and potential allies, there will be advanced, intermediate and backward. Opposing class outlooks will contend—within mass struggles, organizations and even individuals. Through all this, the role of the class-conscious proletariat under the leadership of the Party and together with the work of the Party itself will be of crucial importance. The more that this revolutionary section of the working class is prepared in an all-around way, the more powerfully it mounts the political stage and takes decisive political action, the greater will be its influence, both among broader ranks of the working class and other strata and social forces, the more powerfully will the revolutionary potential of the working class stand out and the more forces will be attracted to its banner—the revolutionary banner of the international proletariat. And, too, the more that the overall international situation and the revolutionary struggles worldwide develop and the more that the influence of the

proletariat grows within them, broader sections of the working class in this country will develop class consciousness and undertake class-conscious political struggle. It is through the twists and turns of such a process, and especially with the sharpening of the objective conditions and the strengthening of the influence and leadership of the Party, that the development of a united front under the leadership of the proletariat will proceed and the movement will advance through an undoubtedly complex process toward the goal of proletarian revolution.

Create Public Opinion, Seize Power! The Central Task Of The RCP, USA

For many decades there has been a standard conception about how to make revolution in an imperialist country like the U.S. The old Communist Party, USA held it even in its better days, before it sank totally into the sink-hole of revisionism. Further, it has been the prevailing conception, with some variations, in the international communist movement since the 1920s and after the years of Lenin's influence. This concept is fundamentally wrong and has prevented serious preparation for revolution. Its basic starting point is getting into the struggles of the people, particularly around their daily needs. The party then relates to these struggles principally by giving tactical and organizational leadership, and thereby seeks to gain influence and leadership among the people so as to be able to lead a revolution. Sometimes this has taken "left" forms ("everyone follow the communists now and let's march straight ahead from militant economic struggle to socialism"); more often it has taken openly rightist forms of tailing reformist leaders and spontaneity in general. In any case it is invariably a recipe for adapting communist work down to the present level of mass struggle and consciousness, and for ultimately capitulating to the bourgeoisie, especially in the form of promoting the national interests instead of the revolutionary interests of the international proletariat in time of war.

The plan and central task of our Party is quite different. Its starting point is the necessity for the proletarian revolution. The main way that the Party influences the masses and the mass movements, the main way it works to build the leadership of the pro-

letariat and prepare the working class and broad masses—and the Party itself—for revolution, is to systematically carry out revolutionary agitation and propaganda. This, with agitation the cutting edge and the Party's newspaper the main weapon now, means that, close upon major events throughout society and the world, the Party and Party members expose the bourgeoisie and the imperialist system in a penetrating way, reveal the different and conflicting class forces and class interests involved in all such events—giving thereby a clear and all-around picture of the class structure and class struggle in society and the world as a whole—and train the masses, especially the advanced section of the proletariat, in the application of the scientific method of Marxism. It is also mainly in this way that the Party itself is able to learn more deeply the mood of the masses, how the development of the objective situation is influencing the sentiments of the masses, and in turn is able to sharpen and deepen its agitation and propaganda and prepare the masses and the Party to go over to the armed struggle for the seizure of power when the time is right.

Centering the Party's work now around its newspaper is not mere paperwork or aimless educational activity, it is the most concrete and practical plan for accumulating revolutionary strength—political, ideological and organizational—for the onslaught. The newspaper itself, which hounds the enemy and exposes imperialism and class antagonism at every turn, is a form of class struggle. But creating public opinion is not a mere "battle of ideas"—though it definitely involves that. The heart of it, the key link, is exposure: penetrating and all-around exposure of the features and nature of this hideous and death-bound system, of the class that rules it and of all the classes, strata and groups in society, not just in this country but the world as a whole, including both those that are enemies and those that are (at least possible) allies of the proletariat. Life itself is the inexhaustible source for such exposure.

With its dictatorship, its domination of society, including the media—and its worldwide plunder—the bourgeoisie can and does carry out vicious repression, bribe sections of the working class and other strata and spew out lies and mystification in a seemingly endless stream. But one thing it cannot do—and that is to make this system and its fundamental contradiction, and the things and consequences this gives rise to, something other than what they are. That is why masses repeatedly rise up, even spontaneously, against it and its continual outrages, and that is also why—with exposure the key link and the newspaper the main weapon now—the Party can truly and correctly support the protests and rebellions of the masses, transform spontaneity into con-

sciousness, divert the masses, especially those awakening to political life and struggle, onto the revolutionary road, train the advanced as revolutionary leaders and in an overall way direct the discontent and repeatedly erupting anger of different sections of the masses toward the goal of overthrowing the system and, when the time is ripe, lead in an uprising to do just that.

A revolution, as Lenin pointed out, is not a single act, even after it has "broken out." It is a series of more or less powerful outbreaks alternating with periods of more or less intense calm. And the pulse in any country is influenced by developments internationally. The newspaper enables the class-conscious vanguard to remain firm in principle and at the same time flexible—ready for everything. This newspaper provides the framework and the key weapon for, as Lenin wrote, "...utilising the periods of political stagnation or of sluggish, so-called 'peaceful' development in order to develop the class-consciousness, strength and militancy of the advanced class, and, on the other hand, directing all the work of this utilisation towards the 'ultimate aim' of that class's advance, towards creating in it the ability to find practical solutions for great tasks in the great days, in which 'twenty years are embodied.'" How much the influence of the Party's line is spread and how much progress is made in training the advanced as communists, as revolutionary leaders in the fullest sense—in other words, how wide and how deep the conspiracy around the newspaper is developed—is of crucial importance not only in preparing for and building toward such an uprising but in influencing and perhaps even determining both its actual character and its chances of winning real victory.

As far as relating to the present day struggle, our difference with the economists and reformists is not basically *whether* to do so, but *how* and with what aim. First off, the very workings of this oppressive system, here and internationally, bring people into motion against it—far more than all the organizational work of the revolutionaries. The question is whether to tail this, or to utilize all its diverse currents and tributaries for a single revolutionary purpose. This is what it means for the Party and those under its leadership to support every major outbreak of protest and rebellion among the masses of all classes and strata, here and internationally, and assist the struggling masses to both unite more broadly and fight more powerfully and to more consciously aim their fire against the bourgeoisie and the imperialist system and link themselves with the class-conscious proletariat and its revolutionary aims. In all of this a newspaper is essential and central. In fact, one important function of exposure is that it does impel the masses into struggle, and to fighting more consciously against the

enemy. But the main point is not to become infatuated in "peaceful times" with leading a non-revolutionary mass movement. The point is to make clear that the whole political system is worthless. The masses must be won to see that the most decisive thing is not just national oppression, or police terror, or rape, or nukes, or the draft, or imperialist acts of aggression, or even world war, but that every outrage is a manifestation of the capitalist system and the rule of the capitalist class, and there is only one solution to all this—mass armed proletarian revolution.

Of course as part of this all-around revolutionary work, the Party does not neglect tactical leadership. Utilizing especially the newspaper, the Party promotes revolutionary forms and methods of struggle, in opposition to reformist ones. Tactics are not a question of grabbing organizational leadership, but must constantly be viewed from the standpoint of the revolutionary goal. The point is to enable the masses to understand from their own experience the necessity and inevitability of the overthrow of the present order.

As part of this work of preparing minds and organizing forces, the Party works both in times of ebb and in times of upsurge to build revolutionary organization. Besides the Party itself, the principal and ongoing forms of organization built are networks of distribution of the newspaper, which are at the same time hubs of all-around revolutionary activity. In fact, in addition to its main role in creating broad public opinion, a very important role of the newspaper is to be the collective organizer of the Party and the revolutionary movement. But, while basic, this does not exhaust the organizational tasks of the Party among the masses. What will be the particular forms through which the workers, and other sections of the people, will in their masses both wage struggle against the bourgeoisie and be won to the revolutionary position by the work of the Party and the influence of the class-conscious forces generally—this is something which cannot be determined as yet. But the basic features and general principles of this process can be grasped and have been outlined here, and today the Party will build and support other forms of organization according to the needs of the struggle and in particular the need to enable the masses to thrash things out and fight more consciously for their revolutionary interests.

In this regard it must be said that, especially in the imperialist countries, the communist movement historically has been infected with a single-minded infatuation with the trade unions and in particular with the erroneous view that organizational leadership of the trade unions is a prerequisite for leading the proletarian revolution. Overwhelmingly the trade unions in the U.S. have become a reactionary political machine. This does not mean that the task or

goal is to smash the unions. It is a basic principle that the Party must carry out political work wherever the masses are found in significant numbers, while at any given point it must concentrate its forces where it is most important in terms of building the proletarian revolutionary movement. This means that in an overall sense the Party must work among the unions, including significant battles to form unions, and that when and to the degree that trade unions become arenas and vehicles of class struggle involving masses of workers, it is absolutely necessary for communists to work among them, to unite with but more than that to influence and lead these masses of workers in a revolutionary direction, through revolutionary agitation and propaganda and, where appropriate, calls to action and tactical guidance. But the Party must never confine its work to the limits established by the trade unions at any point—nor still less tailor its politics to suit the opportunist and reactionary trade union leaders and their social base of more privileged and backward workers—and it must not act as if the trade unions are the only or even overall the most important arena of class struggle in which the masses are involved. For these reasons, to a class-conscious proletarian, in a country like the U.S. especially, the words "labor movement" are a curse.

The proletarian revolution will come about through a complex process. Overall the Party must concentrate its work in its main social base—those real proletarians described earlier who truly have nothing to lose but their chains. At the same time, and making full use of the flexibility afforded by the weapons of agitation and propaganda and particularly the newspaper, the class-conscious proletariat must dispatch its troops everywhere—stretching a line to all strata of the working class and of the people generally. Within all these strata, including within the Party's main proletarian social base, the masses divide politically into advanced, intermediate and backward. The Party must seek to influence the broadest sections who are awakening to political life, diving into the swirls of controversy, speaking to the events of the day and seeking to put forth before everyone an all-around picture of the system and our communist convictions. The Party must also pay particular attention to the advanced in all these strata, striving to meet their special political interests and requirements, and unite and mobilize them around the Party's line as an important lever to influence the broad masses. The Party must consistently combat the temptation to base itself on or adapt itself to the average or "mainstream," which is a sure-fire recipe for smothering revolutionary politics, tailing behind day-to-day events and ultimately capitulating.

Among the advanced forces in all strata, and in particular in

the various strata of the working class, many of them are veterans, oppressed nationalities, immigrants, women and youth. Large numbers of these are people who have had experience in the political movements of the '60s in this country and in revolutionary struggles in other countries. This is a specific advantage of the proletarian revolution in the U.S., a potential force for stimulating broad forces, including outside the main social base of the proletarian revolutionary line, into revolutionary action.

With this as a basic approach, as events unfold the Party must carry out its work of active preparation. It must tirelessly expose and hound the bourgeoisie in times of relative calm. It must do the same in times of minor crises, when many forces are in the field and the masses are thrashing things out on a far broader scale and when many features appear in embryo that can school the Party and the masses and provide them with a rehearsal in these minor crises for the major crisis ahead. Through all this—through the development of the objective situation and the actions of revolutionaries of various kinds—things will reach the point where there will be the actual attempt by significant sections of the masses to rise up in arms against the system. And it is also quite possible that even if the Party did not lead things in that direction, such an attempt would occur anyway. But the ability of the class-conscious proletariat to march to the head of that, with the Party playing the overall leading role, and the possibility of carrying it through to a fundamental change in the economic and political relations as a whole—that depends both on the work of the vanguard between now and then (whenever "then" actually is) and, dialectically related to that, how well not only the Party but beyond it the class-conscious proletariat it has trained—and continues to train in the heat of the revolutionary situation and struggle—how well they do in actually winning leadership and coordinating the uprising under their overall leadership.

This entire process can be summarized in the phrase—create public opinion, seize power. This is the bridge from the present to the future; fulfilling the whole process is the central task of the Party.

The Proletariat, Upon Seizing Power, Will Immediately Take Up The Transformation Of Society

Not only will the victory of the proletarian revolution in the U.S. greatly affect the international situation and struggle, but the alignment of forces internationally at the time of that victory will strongly influence many of the tasks of the socialist transformation here. While the proletariat will have brought about a great change by overthrowing the bourgeoisie and conquering political power on the battlefield, defeating and crushing the armed forces under the command of the bourgeoisie and enemies within and without the country who may join the U.S. imperialist bourgeoisie in attempting to drown the proletarian revolution in blood; with all that, the proletariat, upon coming to power, will immediately face a severe challenge and arduous tasks. It will take control of society not as it would like it to be—nor even as it was in "normal times" under capitalism—but a society that has just emerged out of capitalism and, further, has been through the destruction and ravages of crisis and war. Thus, the proletariat will have the urgent necessity to both consolidate its political power and to restore and build the economy along completely new lines so as to serve not only the masses of people in the U.S. but the revolutionary cause internationally as well.

The highly developed productive forces and technological level in this country will be a real advantage for the proletariat; much of the physical capacity will remain, despite extensive destruction, and beyond that the knowledge and experience in creating and utilizing this technology will not be destroyed. And, most fundamentally, the proletariat in power will be able to fully utilize and

unleash the most decisive productive force—the masses of people with their acquired skills and knowledge. But this will be possible only if the masses are actively drawn not only into the struggle for production but most of all into political life and the administration of society and affairs of state. Failing this, the proletariat will not be able either to consolidate and maintain political power or to carry out the socialist transformation and development of the economy in the interests of the masses in the U.S. and internationally.

Organs of Political Power

When it is said that the proletariat overthrows the bourgeoisie and seizes power, this is fundamentally true in the sense that it is only through the determined struggle of the proletariat and oppressed masses that the armed forces of the bourgeoisie can be defeated and a new political power established, resting on the armed might of the masses. But, at the same time, even as this is accomplished a new question immediately and sharply poses itself: how to smash and dismantle the old forms of rule and political institutions and create in their place new ones which actually represent, rely on and involve the masses in ruling and remolding society in their interests and according to the principles of proletarian internationalism.

This certainly cannot be done just by appointing Party members, and/or elected representatives of the workers and other oppressed masses, to take charge of the old institutions or of ones different in name but structured along the same lines as the old ones. If workers are selected as judges in the courts, for example, but the courts have the same position above the masses and follow the same rules and procedures as before, then these worker-judges will quickly turn into oppressors of the people and the courts will yet again serve as instruments of bourgeois dictatorship over the masses. The same principle applies to the bureaucracies, police and armed forces, etc.

Or take the set-up of Congress and the Presidency, and its parallel structure on the state and local levels, in the U.S. today. Not only is it the case that those who hold these positions must faithfully and ruthlessly serve the bourgeoisie—at least those who exercise any real power—but beyond that, the very process by which they are elected and then carry out their functions is by design and in its very essence one which divorces them from and raises them above the masses, encourages and rewards self-seeking careerism and corruption among political leaders and, most of all, keeps the masses ignorant and passive politically. This kind of structure and procedure must be dismantled and abolished,

and replaced with one which breaks down such separation between leaders and masses and serves to activate and mobilize the masses in political life and struggle to transform all of society toward the goal of eliminating class distinctions and their political and ideological manifestations. And the same is true of all the institutions in society.

In carrying this out, the destruction of the old and the creation of the new are closely inter-connected. The forms of mass organization that are developed among the proletariat and other sections of the people, in the process of building up to and then waging the armed struggle for power, will lay much of the basis for the new institutions which represent and serve the proletariat in ruling and transforming society. For instance, the trade unions, especially the establishment-type political machines that existed in the more recent period of the old society, will be done away with and replaced by mass organizations of workers whose main task and function will be to mobilize them in mass political struggle and, secondarily, on the basis of these politics, mobilize them in the struggle to carry out production and pay attention to their working and living conditions.

Or, for example, the armed forces of the proletarian revolution, which themselves will be developed out of the masses' organizations in struggle, can never win victory if they are structured and commanded along the same lines as those of the bourgeoisie. The purpose of the bourgeois armed forces—to carry out reactionary war against the interests of the vast majority of people of the whole world, including the U.S.—are reflected both in their strategies of fighting and their internal organization, with a dictatorial hierarchy resting on the absolute authority of superior officers and most fundamentally on the intimidation of the rank and file soldiers and their ignorance of the real purpose of the wars they are called on to fight as well as of the plans and policies guiding particular campaigns and battles. Instead, the armed forces of the proletarian revolution must and will be based on a simplified structure, closely linking officers and rank and file soldiers, without saluting, "yes-sirring" and other privileges of rank, and more than that based on political education and struggle among the troops, including between officers and rank and file soldiers, to continually raise their consciousness as to the objectives and the character of the war they must fight as well as particular campaigns and battles. Further, and as the basic point of departure, these armed forces, unlike those of the bourgeoisie, will be closely linked with and rely on the masses of people for support.

At the same time, the masses in their tens of millions beyond the regular armed forces of the proletariat, will be organized into

militias on the local levels to assist the overall armed struggle and maintain the new order as it is achieved. And, as the revolutionary forces carry out the armed struggle and defeat the armed forces of the bourgeoisie, they will not only shatter and disintegrate the enemy's military organization but will win over broad ranks of its soldiers, re-educate them and integrate them into the armed forces of the proletarian revolution in accordance with its basic principles.

This whole process will be quite complex, the more so because there will likely be several revolutionary armies in the field, fighting under various revolutionary programs other than that of the class-conscious proletariat. Uniting these armed forces, and the masses broadly, will depend on the correct line and tactics of the Party and its ability to unite these forces under a programme requiring and serving proletarian revolution. As a part of this, it will be necessary to ultimately achieve the consolidation of these armed forces into one army actually led by the Party.

The justness of the cause and the methods that stem from it will mean that the revolutionary armies—and particularly the army led by the proletariat and its Party—drawing upon and closely linked with the broad masses, will fight with a determination, a discipline—conscious, voluntary discipline—and a heroism that no bourgeois army can ever achieve. And all this must be applied and further developed once the revolutionary war has won victory and the proletariat has seized power.

The same basic principles must also be applied to the destruction of the old and the creation of the new police and security forces, courts and other government institutions, and to the formulation and upholding of laws themselves as well as specific policies of the government. While a constitution embodying these principles must and will be developed, merely this will not be enough. Under the overall leadership of the Party, the conscious activism of the masses must be aroused and their vigilance heightened to involve them in all aspects of political life and rely on them to politically supervise the organs of power and the leadership within them and to suppress and exercise uncompromising authority over the overthrown bourgeoisie and other counter-revolutionary elements, punishing them acccording to their crimes, crushing their resistance and generally compelling them to abide by the dictates of the working class. Only in this way can political power, for which tens of millions will have fought and sacrificed, actually be in the hands of the masses, only in this way can the dictatorship of the proletariat over the bourgeoisie be firmly established and the socialist transformation and development of the economy, as well as all other spheres of society, be undertaken.

The Economy

Once again, and specifically in relation to the economy, all policies adopted by the proletariat will be affected not only by the concrete domestic circumstances faced by the new regime, but also very importantly by the international situation. As soon as it has won victory in the revolutionary war—and even as it wins control of key areas in the course of that war—while it is instituting the new organs of political power of the masses, the proletariat will immediately take control of the organization of production. As they face defeat on the battlefield, the capitalists and their faithful representatives will not simply flee and abandon the factories, railroads, etc., but will attempt to sabotage and destroy them in order to prevent the proletariat from taking hold of and using them. The workers, with the overall leadership of the Party, must actively combat and prevent this and seize control of and safeguard these vital productive facilities and carry out production to serve the proletarian revolution.

This will establish the basis for moving quickly to socialize ownership in industry, beginning with the largest and most decisive factories and other facilities. Those management and supervisory personnel—especially among the lower levels—who have not been active and die-hard defenders of the old order, and who are willing to accept the direction and supervision of the masses of workers and assist in organizing and carrying out production on that basis, will be allowed and encouraged to do so. The same policy will be applied to owners of small plants. But, from the beginning, forms of management and organization of production that involve and rely on the masses will be developed and strengthened. The exploitation of the workers and their subordination to authority in the workplace corresponding to such exploitation will be quickly abolished as the workers take control of the factories. And, further, the factories will no longer be just workplaces, but will also become political centers and arenas of class struggle in which the battle to transform society and the world will have a sharp and crucial focus.

As for small shopkeepers, artisans and other self-employed working people, with the exception of those who have committed counter-revolutionary crimes and must be imprisoned or otherwise punished, a hand of unity will be extended to them and their economic activity will be coordinated into the overall functioning of the economy. Gradually over a period of time, the proletariat, on the basis of socializing industry and planning socialist economic development, and also on the basis of advances internationally, will lead these strata in developing cooperative forms of ownership

and collective labor to carry out their former and other economic functions. This will help lay the basis for the further socialization of their economic role in the future, but only later, in tempo with the development of the socialist economy, will they be transformed into state employees, *i.e.,* workers.

The proletariat, as it wins power, will also take over the large hospitals and similar institutions, applying the same basic policies there as in the factories and other workplaces. Not only will the workers in these hospitals be the base of proletarian power there, exercising control and supervision over their functioning and management, but many among the professional strata—including nurses and even a number of doctors—will make important contributions to the proletariat's struggle for power and will be allies of the workers in controlling these institutions and actually making them serve the needs of the masses, eliminating the outrageous situation where such vital things as health care are dominated by the dictates of capital and profit and are beyond the reach of many of the masses to begin with.

One of the most pressing questions the proletariat will face as it takes control of society will be providing housing for the masses that is fit for the shelter and comfort of human beings. One of its first steps will be to take hold of the remaining mansions of the capitalists, as well as their fancy hotels, convention centers, and even office buildings—much of which are unused—and move in masses who are literally homeless; some of these structures will be permanently transformed into housing for the masses, while as rapidly as possible new housing is also built. With regard to apartment buildings and complexes, those which are owned by large capital, "slumlords," etc. will be taken over quickly and without compensation by the state, and in these situations as well as in the emergency housing described above, the masses will be mobilized to protect and manage them. Small landlords, who own only one or a few units will be allowed to continue collecting rents on them for a period of time, but they will have no power to evict and the rents will be set by the state. As soon as possible, in conformity with the overall construction of housing and the development of the economy as a whole, the state will buy out these small landlords and convert these units into state property.

Those among the people—the working class and its allies—who own their own homes (or, more often, are still buying them from the bank, etc. while living in them) will have the right to live there and all debts connected with them will be cancelled. Where they own more than one home and are employing one or more as rental property, the policy toward small landlords will be applied to those properties where they do not live.

The steps and policies outlined so far, as well as others, will be possible to maintain and develop, however, only on the basis that the proletariat, through its state and with the leadership of its Party, moves very quickly and decisively to control the key levers and lifelines of the economy. Once the proletariat has seized and consolidated power and the workers have seized control of the main productive facilities in industry, these must be brought under state ownership. The large factories of the monopolies and large-scale capital generally will be expropriated by the state right away and without compensation to the former capitalist owners. On the other hand with regard to small plants, the state may, depending on the circumstances there as well as the overall situation, proceed more slowly with the expropriation and pay compensation to the former owner. Unless it moves in this way to establish state ownership, it will be impossible for the proletariat to regulate production and the economy as a whole, the anarchy characteristic of capitalism will reign, and capitalists—mainly the old ones but in a few cases some new ones who have emerged from among the workers, lower-level managers, etc.—will be back in control of the factories, and the society as a whole. State ownership combined with reliance on the workers in the factories to take the lead in organizing production and supervising management—this is the form in which the proletariat will exercise its control of industry as a first great step after seizing and consolidating political power.

At the same time, the proletarian state will immediately move to exercise control over money and finance. The large capitalist banks and similar financial institutions will be deprived of all authority and functioning, their holdings and claims nullified, while small banks will be brought under strict regulation by the state—and later will be brought under state ownership, in some cases with compensation. As quickly as possible, the proletarian state will also establish and introduce into circulation a new currency, requiring those with the old currency to exchange it for the new with the state-controlled financial institutions. The overthrown capitalists, many of whom will escape the proletarian army and in some cases disguise themselves, will do everything possible to hold onto their hoards of ill-gotten wealth and will even attempt to flood the old currency into circulation in order to sabotage the economy and the rule of the proletariat. While the masses must be mobilized to search out and seize this hoarded wealth and turn it over to the state, the introduction of a new currency and the firm control of finance by the proletarian state is essential to combat this and other sabotage, to stabilize prices and more than that to develop the economy along socialist lines. Only in the far distant future, when the vestiges of commodity production and exchange

have been eliminated, and when the proletarian revolution internationally has greatly advanced, will it be possible to abolish money as a medium of exchange.

Similarly, the proletarian state will move quickly to control the various spheres of trade, both within the country and with other countries. By achieving state ownership of the major industrial means of production—factories, machinery, etc.—as well as finance, the proletariat takes a great step toward controlling trade as well, for this puts the exchanges between such factories directly in the control of the state. But other, generally smaller units of production will for some time remain in the hands of either private or cooperative owners and in addition there will for some time remain smaller-scale merchant operations, both individual and cooperative; and for these reasons the proletarian state must exercise firm control over trade and continually increase its own direct role in the exchange of products as well as set and enforce price standards, combat "black market" activities, etc. and mass struggle must be unleashed in this arena, too.

While the proletarian revolution is international, it is nevertheless the case that as the proletariat comes to power in one or several countries, imperialists and reactionaries will still be ruling others. One arena in which this poses contradictions is trade. International trade must be based fundamentally on the principles of the class struggle and proletarian internationalism. With the other socialist states that exist (or come into being), trade will be carried out under principles of internationalism and equality to aid the international construction of socialism and the world revolution. Trade policies will also have to be developed toward imperialist and other reactionary states, depending on conditions. In some cases, in order to support the class struggle in those countries and internationally, the socialist state will refuse to carry out trade, or trade in some items, with them. In other cases, trade will be carried out, with full awareness that such countries do not seek to carry it out for mutual benefit but on unequal terms and as a means for gaining leverage in other countries—and this is certainly no less the case when they are dealing with a socialist state. Therefore, for the socialist state to carry out international trade on the correct, socialist lines, it must first of all subordinate such trade to internationalism and to the self-reliant struggle of the masses within the country in building socialism. In addition, when trade is carried out the state must wage struggle to force the imperialist and reactionary states to accept trade terms based on equality and mutual benefit. If it allows itself to become dependent on such trade and entangled in imperialist economic and financial arrangements, the proletariat in power will not long be able to main-

tain power or carry out socialist construction and its obligations to the world revolution.

At the same time, the new state must abolish all unequal trade relations, in which the U.S. imperialists have entangled and bled scores of nations and must compensate for and make provisions to overcome this economic dependency. For example, the economies of many foreign countries are now, and may, depending on international relations at the time of the U.S. proletarian revolution, still be dependent on spare parts from this country, and the new proletarian state cannot act like an international overlord and cut off their supply to those nations formerly oppressed by U.S. imperialism or in any way use such a situation to carry out economic or political blackmail. It must meet obligations while at the same time creating new relations of equality and mutual benefit.

With the establishment of socialist state ownership in industry—or at least of the major means of production—and of the control of finance and trade by the proletarian state, the question remains of how to further develop socialist relations and socialist production, both within particular factories (and similar units) and between them. This includes such questions as management, the role of technical personnel—engineers, researchers, etc.—and their relation to the productive workers. It also involves other questions of the division of labor within the factories, for example between more and less skilled workers, and between factories—that is, how the specific production of different factories relates to the others, especially those who either provide materials for a given factory or use materials provided by it (a rubber plant in relation to an auto factory and a machine-building plant would be an example).

In general, upon seizing and consolidating its state power and achieving state ownership of the major industrial means of production, the proletariat may very likely be faced, for a fairly long period, with the necessity to employ, even in state-owned enterprises, fairly large numbers of technicians and even some supervisory and management personnel who were trained in the old society and served the capitalist owners in the past. This is because it will take some time for the workers to master the scientific, technical and organizational knowledge and skills necessary to carry out these functions. While this is being actively developed, the proletarian state will have to rely to a significant extent on the old technicians, etc. While struggling to remold them, it will have to take into account that in the old society they generally received rather large salaries; in order to get them to work for the proletariat and socialist construction and to minimize sabotage on their part, it may well be necessary to pay non-Party people in these positions quite a bit more than the production

workers. On the other hand, the proletariat cannot allow them to use their temporary monopoly of certain important knowledge and skills as capital in the literal sense—they cannot be allowed to command production and the production workers, and on the contrary they must in an overall sense accept the supervision of the masses of workers. And further, consistent and urgent efforts must be made and struggle carried out both to educate, train and involve masses of workers in these skilled, intellectual capacities and to involve the technical, managerial and similar personnel in productive labor together with the masses of workers.

The same basic approach must be taken toward the divisions among the productive workers themselves in regard to skills, etc.—production must be organized and workers must have a post within the overall production process, but they must not be chained to it. Instead, they must have one post at any given time but develop many different skills and learn to master all phases of the production process—as well as technical and management work, etc.

Another problem confronting the proletariat in carrying out the socialist transformation and development of the economy is the fact that, because of the high degree of parasitism of imperialism, and U.S. imperialism in particular, there are many, even millions of people—such as bureaucrats in the corporate as well as government structure, salesmen, advertising men, etc.—whose old functions will be unnecessary under and contrary to socialism. To the degree possible—and with the specific exception of conscious counter-revolutionaries, especially among the upper ranks of these strata—the proletariat will seek to utilize these people in technical, managerial and other similar functions, including in the media, and in general it will make some concessions to their previous standard of living. But, again, they will not be allowed to lord it over the masses or to command production, scientific research, the media, etc., but instead must accept the overall supervision of the masses.

With regard to the relations between different factories and other production units, again the basic principle is that, while of course there must be a division of labor between them—that is, they must produce different products—in order for the economy to be developed in a balanced and proportionate way, and while in fact only socialist transformation will make possible a rational plan for such a division, nevertheless, this division, too, must not be made an absolute. Specifically, delegations of workers from the different factories will regularly be organized to have discussions with each other, exchange experience about production, discuss the quality of and problems with the products exchanged between

them, and so on. And different plants must also be developed to produce subsidiary products besides their main one, within an overall plan. In this way as well as others, the workers in the various spheres of production will become more conscious of the process of production and exchange in socialist society as a whole, and the masses of workers will be able to strengthen their conscious mastery over production and all of society.

For a fairly long period of time, cost-accounting methods and some survivals of commodity exchange will have to be used within the factories and in exchanges between them. That is, although the state will be the owner of the factories as well as their means of production and although the workers' wages will be paid by the state, nevertheless the state will not simply assign means of production to the various factories, set the wage scales and then deliver the product to another factory (or to the state or other stores for sale). Rather, the state may set some very small interest charge to the factory in exchange for machinery, raw materials, etc.; and in the exchanges between factories some form of contracts will be used. All this is necessary for a time to ensure the most rational and efficient production and exchange, but it is also clearly a survival of capitalism that the proletariat must move to eventually eliminate. And in the meantime, socialist relations of cooperation and the breaking down of the division of labor, within and between factories and other economic units, must be vigorously promoted.

Differences in wages and a division of labor will be left over from bourgeois society, which will be a major and protracted arena of struggle throughout the period of socialism. Exploitation of labor will be eliminated, but even the principle of pay according to work contains inequalities. Different jobs require different levels of skill, and even when different workers receive the same pay there is inequality, since people have different needs, different size families, etc. The division of labor, too, most especially between mental and manual labor, contains elements of privilege. All this is generally termed bourgeois right, since it is a product of the relations of class society in the bourgeois epoch. It will be a sharp and complex focus of class struggle, over a long period of time, to restrict these differences and step by step promote communist relations without social inequality as well as exploitation. This class struggle within the socialist society, while extremely important in digging away at the basis for and combatting capitalist restoration, will be conditioned by and must be carried out in the context of the class struggle in the international arena.

So far, mainly industry has been directly touched on. But, although the agricultural population in the U.S., including both

farmworkers and farm owners, is very small—in absolute numbers and relative both to the rest of the U.S. population and to the agricultural population of most other countries, even other imperialist countries—so long as the contradiction between industry and agriculture remains, agriculture will be the foundation of the economy. Agricultural production in the U.S. is extremely important and will be a crucial question for the proletarian revolution, both in winning power and in carrying out socialist transformation. And, in fact, the high level of development of U.S. agriculture, and even the fact that there are so few farm owners, will be an advantage for the proletariat in this country.

On the other hand, it is true in the U.S. as elsewhere that agriculture lags behind industry. One of the manifestations of this is the fact that, although large numbers of farmers have been and continue to be wiped out under the weight of large capital in both production of farm equipment and purchase of farm products, the big capitalists have not in large part gone directly into farming but more generally have "surrounded" the small farmer by controlling the input and output sectors.

The result of all this is that not only are great numbers of farmers driven under each year, but even among those still hanging on, large numbers are forced to work part of the time off their own farm, either for other farm concerns or in industry. Thus, a significant number of farmers are actually semi-proletarians—that is, they earn part of their livelihood by working as hired wage laborers, even if in fairly skilled categories in many cases. The plight of the majority of farmers in the U.S. is a clear illustration of the fact that for most of the petty bourgeoisie, in the final analysis they have no way out of their situation except to unite with the proletariat and the socialist transformation of society.

In the first great act of the proletarian revolution, in the revolutionary war itself, the political and military struggle for control of the rural farming areas (and of the important transport and processing facilities located there) will be of extreme importance. To win this struggle the class-conscious proletariat, while relying principally on its own forces and its main allies in the cities as well as the agricultural proletariat, will have to unite with significant numbers of small, middle-sized and even some large farmers. Once state power is effectively consolidated by the proletariat, it will be both possible and necessary to proceed with a relatively rapid socialization of agricultural production, largely by-passing the cooperative forms that have proved necessary in economically backward countries with extensive peasant agricultures. But in carrying this out the proletariat will have to take into account the concrete conditions, including not only the fact that agriculture in

the U.S., though comparatively highly developed, still lags behind industry, but also the differing local conditions and the particularities of the varied branches of agriculture as well as the immediate effects upon the productive forces and specifically rural society of civil war—and perhaps, also, inter-imperialist war. The basic approach of the proletariat will be to lead the step-by-step but fairly rapid transformation of agriculture by first removing it from the clutches of big capital and advancing as rapidly as possible but by stages and according to the specific conditions, to socialist ownership.

The main criterion of the proletariat in determining friends from enemies among the farmers and uniting with the former to oppose and defeat the latter, will not be the size of their farms (though that will be taken into account to some degree) but whether or not and to what degree they exploit wage labor. Some large farms, for example in grain, are worked entirely or overwhelmingly by their owner-operators (including the family), who may hire only a very small number of workers; on the other hand, some smaller farms, for example in fruits and vegetables, employ significant numbers of wage laborers and many even depend mainly on these farmworkers for production. In general, those farmers who exploit little or no labor, on small, medium, or even large-sized farms, will be united with; those who exploit a large amount of labor, and especially those who depend largely on this, will be the target of the revolution, even though their farms may be smaller than some of those with whom the proletariat seeks to unite.

Upon seizing power, the proletariat's policies will emphasize achieving state ownership as quickly and broadly as possible, relying first and foremost on the propertyless proletariat in these areas—the farmworkers who outnumber small farm-owners. Through its state, the proletariat will nationalize and place at the service of the masses in the whole country the great farm input and output monopolies which today exert such dominance over production and distribution of farm products. Further, in expropriating the banks and other major financial institutions, the proletariat will cancel the debt burden on the large majority of farmers. But, most important, the proletarian state will eliminate the fetter of rent in various forms (including mortgages) on agriculture—and society as a whole—by immediately nationalizing all the land. Nationalization of land stands at the center of the proletariat's strategy for uniting with its allies among the farmers: it is a first and major step which must and will be taken even as state power is being consolidated. Immediately with the seizure of power, those large landowners *who do not farm their own property* and big farmers *who are mainly dependent on hired labor* will be

expropriated without compensation, and their lands—as well as other capital assets—will be turned over to the farmworkers and semi-proletarian small farmers, wherever possible through the establishment of state farms, or allotted to farmers to work them. On the other hand, the great majority of owner-operators who do not exploit labor to any significant degree, whether their holdings are small, medium or even fairly large, will as an immediate step be allotted shares of nationalized land to farm themselves—provided they do not actively oppose the revolution, including its struggle to gain control over significant non-farm assets in which some large farmers may have proprietary interests. In some cases tenant farmers will be granted assistance in farming their old plots, or other plots, while in other cases they will join in farming the state farms.

These actions, together with the firm consolidation of its power by the proletariat and its first major steps in transforming industry along socialist lines, will clear the way for the rapid and balanced development of socialized agriculture. On the basis of the initial nationalization of the land, the proletariat, relying first and foremost on the agricultural workers and secondly on the masses of (mainly) non-exploiting farmers, will not only be able to achieve increased production on expropriated and state-owned land, but also to bring about in a fairly short period the socialization of farm equipment and ownership and of agricultural production in general, again mainly through the establishment of nationalized state farms. This will depend, specifically in regard to the proletariat's farmer allies, not on political compulsion but on winning them to see that such socialization is the only way forward, the only way to move beyond the conditions characteristic of capitalism that dictate that they will be ruined and crushed. And in this the uncompromising stand and resolute measures of the proletariat and its state against big capital, shattering its political rule and breaking its stranglehold on the economy, in agriculture as well as industry, will be of decisive importance. But, on the other hand, while aiming its spearhead in this direction and uniting with the (mainly) non-exploiting farmers on the basis of and through the measures already summarized, the proletariat cannot conciliate with the petty proprietor aspects of these farmers' outlook and inclinations, for this would only weaken not strengthen this alliance—and in fact will only send the farmers, as well as other middle forces, scurrying to the enemy camp.

The strongest basis for advancing to socialized agriculture will exist in those areas which today employ large numbers of hired workers. Here socialization will begin almost immediately upon the seizure of power, unleashing and relying on the masses of pro-

pertyless proletarians. But even in farming where individual ownership, and individualism, has its strongest base, such as grain, conditions will not generally be unfavorable for the development of state-owned agriculture. For just as the monopoly bourgeoisie was able to "surround" the farmer through control of the input and output sectors, so too the proletarian state will be able to use its control of these sectors, with profoundly different objectives and employing very different methods, to influence and lead the farmers in the direction of socialization. As an important first step in overcoming the division between agriculture and industry and the urban and the rural areas, the proletariat will further develop industry in the rural areas in order to help link together agriculture and industry in those areas, and to link together the working people in both spheres. In addition, communication and transport as well as health care and other services, culture, etc., will be greatly developed in rural areas in order to help eliminate this inequality left over from capitalism. Through all of this, it will become clear to many farmers that a guaranteed wage for farming paid by the state will be a far more effective source of security than various utopian schemes under capitalism, such as parity. Moreover, even now under capitalism, with the increasing integration of agriculture and industry, many industrial workers, particularly those employed in farm equipment manufacture, canneries, grain storage and transport facilities and slaughterhouses, etc., work in or near farm areas; and once the proletariat has seized power and begun achieving the integration of agriculture and industry on a new basis, moving toward overcoming the gap between them and the subordination of agriculture to industry, these industrial workers will be able to play a significant role in the struggle in the rural areas, alongside farmworkers and in carrying out the policy of uniting with the proletariat's farmer allies.

Of course, the main force that the proletariat must and will rely on in agriculture are the millions of farmworkers—including the large number who under capitalism are employed only seasonally if at all but who under socialism will be not only immediately employed but relied on, together with the other farmworkers, as the main force in consolidating the political rule of the proletariat in the rural areas and carrying forward its policies for the socialist transforming of agriculture. Along with providing employment for the agricultural population as a whole, an immediate step of the proletariat, upon seizing power, will be to abolish the miserable conditions in which farmworkers are forced to live and labor under capitalism. Special priority will be given to constructing decent housing and other facilities for farmworkers and to providing them with the basic necessities, including health care. This will include

so-called "illegals" many of whom are employed in agriculture. They will be immediately offered citizenship in the new proletarian state and not only provided employment but fully involved in every aspect of ruling and remaking society.

Where, for a brief period at the very beginning, some hiring of farmworkers by individual owner-operators may have to be allowed, because of the specific conditions in an area as well as the general situation, as soon as possible the wages and working conditions of these workers will be established by the proletarian state, and the farmworkers themselves will be mobilized in enacting these policies. Further, such private employment and exploitation of wage labor in agriculture will be quickly abolished as the proletariat consolidates its control in those areas and its rule in society as a whole. Where it corresponds to the concrete conditions, socialization of the farm land, equipment, etc., will be rapidly carried out, according to the principles already discussed. Where that is not possible for a time, farmworkers will be employed on state farms that have already been established or organized to establish state farms on land that is expropriated and/or reclaimed from waste; they will be relied on as the main force in moving to socialized state ownership of these farm areas as quickly as possible. And overall, as the proletariat leads its allies in carrying out such transformation to state ownership and then in further transforming the relations between people within these state farms, those who were the exploited hired laborers under capitalism will become the leading force in organizing production, supervising management, breaking down the old division of labor and strengthening the proletariat's mastery over the production process, in agriculture as well as in industry, and ultimately over the society as a whole.

In forging the alliance with its allies in the agricultural areas, both to overthrow the bourgeoisie and then carry out socialist transformation, the proletariat will pay special attention to the national question. In the U.S. a disproportionately large number of farmworkers are recruited from the ranks of the Black people, Chicanos, Mexicans and other immigrants, and the high rates of exploitation and the particularly degrading conditions associated with agricultural labor, while they have a basis in the overall dominance of industry over agriculture and the relative backwardness of the latter, are also closely linked with and intensified by the whole structure of national oppression and discrimination against these peoples. On the other hand, the link between national oppression and agricultural labor and especially the infusion of more militancy and revolutionary sentiments with the intensification of the struggles against national oppression has established a

broader basis for unity and mutual support between the urban and farming masses in general. This is something the proletariat must further strengthen and build on in its struggle to seize power and revolutionize society. And in order to do this it must win the broadest masses to implement policies that strike at the whole history and present structures of national oppression, with the question of land and agricultural conditions generally an important focus of that.

Although, today, the oppression of Black people is not in the main or in essence a land question, this is its historical basis, and still today remnants of the sharecropping system in the South survive. In addition, large numbers of Black people, over the past several generations, have been viciously expropriated of literally millions of acres of land by large landholders and big capital in general. As part of its overall agricultural policy of expropriating without compensation the major exploiting landholders and nationalizing land as its first major step, the proletariat in power will take account of the fact that Black people were by various means driven off the land they owned or worked and that some may desire to return to and farm that land. On the other hand, it will generally not encourage such a "return to the land," and the class-conscious proletariat will in this case as all others struggle to win people to base their actions on the overall needs of the proletariat in maintaining its state power and transforming the economy and the society as a whole along socialist lines.

The proletarian state, in nationalizing the land and carrying out its overall agricultural policy will also take account of and make provision for the right to land of the Native American peoples and the Chicanos of northern New Mexico and southern Colorado, rights guaranteed by treaties which have been and continue to be consistently broken by the bourgeoisie. And, again, at the same time it will adopt specific policies to assist these oppressed peoples to utilize and develop such land and its resources and to carry out these efforts in unity with the overall needs of the proletariat in power and its concrete steps to abolish exploitation, control and develop the economy in the interests of the masses of people and revolutionize all of society.

In the economic, political and social relations in the agricultural areas as a whole, as well as in the entire society, the proletarian state will also take immediate steps to put an end to discrimination in fact and to overcome the whole legacy of such discrimination and national oppression in general. This will be firmly applied in employment, housing, education and other such spheres and in the area of language and culture. In this way, and more generally through its overall policy in agriculture, as well as

throughout society, the proletariat will unite with and fully unleash the profound desire and tremendous potential of the oppressed peoples to overcome not only the special degradation to which they have been subjected but the backwardness and disfigurement that capitalism maintains in the world in general.

Broadly speaking, transforming agriculture and integrating it with industry on a socialist basis is a critical question for the proletariat upon coming to power, a question it must and will move quickly and decisively to tackle by applying the overall line and specific policies that enable it to firmly unite its own ranks, win over its allies and advance step by step but as rapidly as possible to the victory of socialism over capitalism in agriculture, a decisive victory in the entire battle for the triumph of socialism.

In order to integrate agriculture and industry in overall socialist production, the proletariat, on the basis of state ownership of the major means of production in industry and the nationalization of land and important victories won in achieving state ownership in agriculture, will institute planning for the economy as a whole. This will take into account not only the various sectors of industry and agriculture, but also the various levels of socialization of ownership that have been achieved, as well as the remaining small-scale private ownership in production and trade. This planning will include the basic decisions as to the allocation of the workforce in the various areas of the country and spheres of the economy. Where people work will be based no longer on the anarchistic drive of competing capitalists for profit, but on the overall needs of the proletariat in carrying forward the socialist revolution, socialist economic construction and the world revolution. The Party will mobilize its own members, and other class-conscious people who volunteer, to be the leading force in going where work is most difficult; and in general, through the schools, factories, neighborhood committees, etc., and under the centralized leadership of the Party and state, the people will be mobilized and assigned to meet the requirements of the plan in various areas and economic spheres.

Planning is a crucial weapon of the proletariat in exercising and strengthening its control over the economy and carrying out further socialist transformation. But planning itself is neither equivalent to socialism nor guarantees it. And planning cannot simply be left to planners—full-time intellectual workers and officials—if it is to be socialist planning. Rather, in carrying out socialist planning, the state, with the Party playing the leading role, must investigate and draw on the experience and ideas of the masses, who themselves must be organized to sum up this experience and make suggestions with regard to planning, not only

on the basic level but for the country as a whole. Then this must be systematized and synthesized, and an overall plan for the economy developed, which in turn must be taken up, discussed and carried out by the masses. Further, nothing in life proceeds in a straight line and many new things will arise and experiences will be gained in the course of carrying out a plan, especially a longer-term one, such as one covering five years or so. Therefore, the experience in carrying out the plan must be repeatedly summed up, by the same basic methods through which the plan was developed to begin with, and the plan must be adjusted accordingly. Thus planning, like all other aspects of transforming and developing the economy, and all other spheres of society, along socialist lines, is a process of struggle—against bourgeois-bureaucratic conceptions and methods and those who would practice them—which can only be carried out in the interests of the proletariat by involving and fundamentally relying on the masses with the guidance of a scientific, Marxist line and method.

International Relations

The proletariat in the United States has a great responsibility and a great mission: to carry out a revolution which, once victorious, will be like lifting a giant bone-crushing burden off the backs of the people of the whole world. It will mean the defeat and elimination of one of the two greatest international exploiters and oppressors. It will be an event whose magnitude will be completely unprecedented in world history. Even Nazi Germany did not oppress anywhere near as many people, and the U.S. therefore is justly hated by even many more. Literally hundreds of millions worldwide will rejoice and will step up their own struggle for emancipation.

Besides the overall application of the basic principles of proletarian internationalism, there will be specific questions facing the revolutionary state depending in large part on specific world conditions when it comes to power. The proletariat in the U.S. will renounce all wars of aggression and plunder in word and deed. If the U.S. imperialists and their Soviet rivals, along with their respective allies, have already unleashed a world war, then the victorious proletariat will immediately pull its state out of that war. It will stand against and expose the imperialist nature and conduct of the war.

If the inter-imperialist war has not yet begun—and revolution is the only thing that might prevent it—then the U.S. proletarian state will refuse to enter such a war, will work to expose developments toward it and rouse people in revolutionary struggle against the imperialists and reactionaries. In any case it will re-

nounce all imperialist alliances, such as NATO; and it will, upon seizing power, make public all the secret treaties and agreements made by the imperialists to serve their international plunder and war schemes. The remnants of the imperialist army will be dismantled and in its place will be the new army of the proletarian state. Its tasks will be first to defend the new state power against the internal reactionaries who will not only dream of but will try for a comeback, and also to defend the socialist state against any aggression by international imperialist powers and other reactionary states which will be in league with the home-grown reactionaries. All U.S. forces will be withdrawn from foreign soil and from the territorial waters of other countries and all the U.S. military bases in other countries will be dismantled.

The socialist state which comes to power on the ashes of U.S. imperialism will immediately cancel all unequal treaties and end all colonial relationships, direct or indirect, with other nations. It will renounce all privileges extorted from other nations at the point of a gun by the imperialists.

The U.S. colony of Puerto Rico will be immediately freed, that is, if the Puerto Rican people have not already won their freedom. And in that regard, if war—world war and/or civil war—is raging in the U.S., the Puerto Rican people should be supported by the proletariat in the U.S. to take advantage of that situation to break free and claim their own emancipation from U.S. imperialism.

The policy of the proletariat in the U.S. will be to use the state power it wins as a base area to promote world revolution—supporting just wars of national liberation and socialist revolution and forging the closest unity with any other socialist states. As a tactical measure it may establish state to state relations with reactionary states, but subordinate to proletarian internationalism and support for revolution.

Beyond that, as it liberates the productive forces in this country from the shackles of capitalism, the working class in power will unleash them not only for the benefit of people here, but to assist the exploited and oppressed the world over in their revolutionary struggles and in the revolutionary transformation of the oppressed nations, which have been, to no small degree, held back by imperialism. This will mean genuine aid and will be nothing like the "foreign aid" of the imperialists, which is used to further ensnare and enslave the people of other countries.

Upon coming to power, the proletariat will need powerful armed forces which—although organized according to completely different principles—will need to be equipped with the weaponry the imperialists have, including nuclear weapons. The proletarian state in this country will declare openly that it will never be the

first to use nuclear weapons. In addition it will take up the struggle to abolish nuclear weapons the world over—and this struggle will be fundamentally different from the phony "disarmament" talk of the imperialists. However, the remaining imperialists and other reactionaries, being desperate gangsters, will not so easily give up these weapons. This makes it quite likely that it will be a long time before all nuclear weapons are finally abolished—although the destruction of the U.S. capitalist state will be a mighty stride in that direction.

So long as capitalism and exploitation exists in any country, this will be a base for the bourgeoisie in its attempts to defeat the working class and restore capitalism everywhere. And wherever capitalism rules and maintains backwardness, it stands as a great barrier to the peoples of all countries in transforming society and developing the rational use of the world's resources and productive forces. The struggle to actively uphold proletarian internationalism, to develop the socialist system in one country as a subordinate part of and base area for the whole world revolution—this will be a sharp and decisive focus of the class struggle under socialism. The international working class can emancipate itself only by emancipating all humanity; it can achieve communism only by eliminating the rule of capital and the chains of exploitation and the remnants of class-divided society everywhere.

Unemployment

Unemployment is an open sore of capitalism. It is one that can and will be quickly healed by the proletariat once capitalism is overthrown. The proletariat will, it is true, inherit a war-devastated economy with large sections of industry, including major industrial centers in the cities, having been destroyed. This in itself will be the source of a great number of unemployed, coming on top of the large numbers already without work during the "peaceful" times of this mad, crisis-ridden capitalist system. This will be an urgent problem for the proletariat and its new state.

Immediate, radical measures will be taken as necessary so that the threat of starvation is removed. This will require mobilizing the masses and may include quick redistribution of supplies and stern measures against hoarders and speculators—so that all necessary resources are put to solving these urgent problems of basic food and shelter. At the same time the work of reconstructing the economy will begin, and in this process the millions of unemployed will be put to work. Already, by this time, the great bulk of the unemployment problem will be solved—a feat impossible under capitalism. The work will be there—crying out to be done—and the people with the ability and desire to work will be

there; this is not new. But what will be new, what will provide the key to the solution, is that the control of the economy will be in the hands of the proletarian state. So the unemployed will be put to work. This major advance—unthinkable under capitalism with production dictated by the law of profit—will be accomplished very quickly under the rule of the proletariat.

Once this process of reconstruction has been basically completed, and the more "normal" functioning of the economy according to the socialist principles described above has been undertaken, the proletariat's task around unemployment will still be unfinished. There are today whole sections of the population who do not work, whom the capitalists do not even figure as "unemployed." This includes big sections of the youth, the oppressed nationalities and older workers. After the proletariat seizes power, all this will change. These people will be involved, not only in the work that has to be done, but also in the decisions about what is to be done, both overall in society and in terms of specific production projects. Their wages, paid by the state, while obviously not on just the same level as that of a worker with many skills, will not be any of the minimum wage peanuts that are paid these workers today, if they are "lucky" enough to find some work. The degrading necessity to hustle tips or to squeeze out an income by having to seek "domestic work," cleaning somebody else's house, will be eliminated, and these workers will be freed to do work that contributes to building socialism.

Many women, too, are "not counted" when it comes to working under capitalism. The question of women being brought fully into the work force poses special problems and will take a longer time to thoroughly solve. Under capitalism, many women still do not work outside the home, due to the male supremacist "division of labor" which is part of exploiting class society. This state of affairs is due also to the fact that, to the capitalists, women are to a great degree still a "reserve army" of labor—available to be shuffled in and out of the workforce as expansion (including war production) and contraction take place. This situation will be ended by the proletariat. Right away concrete measures will be taken to make it more possible for women to work—including both putting an end to discrimination and also collectivizing many household chores. But there will be a protracted process of struggle and persuasion with men and women alike about the need for women to play a full role in all aspects of society. Many women, influenced by the force of traditional ideas and the weight of their oppression, will not agree about taking this kind of role in the workforce and in society generally, and the proletarian state cannot just force them to do this, but must lead in a protracted process of persuasion of

these women, while at the same time struggling with the greater obstacle—the supremacist notions of men. While this will be a protracted process, there is also a strong base in U.S. society for the proletariat to move forward on this. Many women now work, and as the bourgeoisie goes into stepped-up war preparations they will drag many women out of the homes and into their factories, even the army, and more broadly into social life in general. All this, though in a reactionary cause, will provide a good starting point for rapid forward progress once the proletariat has wrested control of society from the bourgeoisie.

Unemployment stands as a tremendous waste of the productive forces of the world. One of the first accomplishments of the revolution will be to remove this barrier and in so doing, by releasing the creative energies of millions, give a tremendous spur to these productive forces, most of all to the masses of people and their creativity and initiative to transform the world.

Uprooting National Oppression

Since the history of the development of capitalism in the U.S. is a history of the most savage oppression of the Black, Native American, Mexican-American, Puerto Rican, Asian and other oppressed peoples, taking up this question for solution is crucial for the U.S. proletarian revolution.

Discrimination, the denial of democratic rights, violent police repression, suppression and mutilation of their cultures and languages, exploitation and oppression as members of the working class, with the lowest positions, constantly high unemployment, the lowest paid jobs, the worst housing, the worst of bad health care and other social services—all this and more is daily life for the masses of these nationalities in the U.S. today. And it is these conditions that the proletariat in power must and will eliminate.

All this, of course, cannot be done in a minute. But much of it can and will be. This is not only because of greater moral determination on the part of the proletariat. The capitalists today have thousands of laws on paper outlawing discrimination, but still discrimination thrives and even worsens. This is because they have a greater law in command—the law of maximizing profit—and under this law all of society is maintained in a twisted state. Such deformities fully conform to their interests. The proletariat, on the other hand, has no such interest and every interest, in fact, in eliminating all these inequalities which are both leftovers of the old society and festering grounds for overall capitalist restoration. Discrimination, for example, will be immediately and forcefully banned in employment, housing and all other spheres.

As part of this general process in society, the army of police which enforces all this through systematic terror in the ghettos and barrios and other areas where oppressed nationalities are concentrated will have been destroyed, just punishment handed out to its hired thugs, and in its place will be armed and organized militia made up of the masses in these neighborhoods and areas.

Segregation in neighborhoods, schools and the like will be banned and integration promoted. Segregationist groups will be broken up, and the demagogues who have initiated attacks on oppressed nationalities will be immediately crushed. And if, for example, somebody in a factory jumps up and starts some racist mouthing off, although he will probably not be jailed unless he is really organizing a reactionary movement, the masses of workers will be mobilized right then and there to wage a sharp struggle against all this and to isolate and defeat such reactionary poison. This method generally will be spread throughout society as the basic means for dealing with all aspects of reactionary ideology among the people.

The new proletarian state will take immediate and special measures to change the situation of all-around social inequality. This will require struggle to win the masses of all nationalities to see the absolute necessity for these measures in order to develop—and even to keep—the victories of the new society. For example, the question will be posed about what to do to rebuild the neighborhoods after the seizure of power. There will be a lot of destruction generally after the civil war and most likely in the wake of a world war. But it will still be the case that the ghettos and slums, where mostly the oppressed peoples were forced to live, will be the most run down and broken down. Everybody is going to have an urgent feeling that their own conditions must be improved from this ugly devastation of capitalism. But Party members and other class-conscious people are going to have to go out and struggle with the rest and set an example in practice, in self-sacrifice and voluntary labor, to see that the neighborhoods at the very bottom are rebuilt—and improved—first, while people in other areas will have to be given second priority, and in some cases even to largely live with what they've got for a time until the resources can be devoted to that problem too. If the proletarian state does not apply this policy, then the basis for proletarian power will be seriously undermined, because the oppressed people would rightly say, "How is this different from before? We're still on the bottom." And the basis for new or old capitalists to "divide and conquer" and establish power over society would be greatly strengthened. Over the long-term, the state will give preference in resources and assistance to the less developed and backward areas,

of course in coordination with and on the basis of the overall development of society; and in the immediate situation after the seizure of power, the policy of "raising up the bottom" will be applied across the board.

There are many different oppressed nationalities in the U.S. and each has its own particular features and problems that must be solved: the Native American peoples have a long history of lands being stolen and their cultures suppressed; the oppression of the Puerto Rican people within the U.S. is closely linked with the colonial status of their homeland, which must be freed; the Black people have the history of slavery and of the historical process of their formation as an oppressed nation in the Black Belt areas of the South; the Chicanos have the particular history of U.S. oppression of Mexico, the theft of its land and the maintaining of large parts of the Southwest as a backward area, and the continued persecution of "illegals." Such particularities exist in the case of each of the oppressed nationalities. But, at the same time, there are certain broad features common to many or all of the oppressed peoples that must be grasped and dealt with by the proletariat in power by mobilizing the masses of people of these nationalities and at the same time mobilizing the whole proletariat to take up these questions.

The proletarian revolution in the U.S. will not be a simple affair. It will involve many complex phenomena and varied social movements, many led—even at the time of revolution—by different class forces and mobilized under different programs. This will be true particularly, though not exclusively, of the oppressed nationalities. There will likely be a number of actual armies in the field and while there is only one overall and fundamental revolutionary solution to the contradictions of society, this solution has many varied aspects, each or many of which will propel different social forces into motion. Upon victory, and in fact in order to achieve victory, the Party will have to lead the class-conscious workers in assessing these different forces, establishing principled unity with them wherever possible, struggling with them for the revolutionary program of the proletariat, while seeking ways to resolve differences non-antagonistically.

The question of land is an important one in the history of a number of the oppressed peoples of this country. While this question is not today the central question for most of them, it is one that has continued to give rise to struggle and will certainly do so in the future, particularly in the context of civil war. The borders of the U.S. are not sacred to the class-conscious proletariat in this country—forged as they were in the blood of oppressed peoples and through outright robbery by the ruling class. The question of

borders and land will not be approached by the proletariat on the basis of U.S. history—that is, on the basis of chauvinism. Instead it will be approached on the basis of winning as much as possible for the international proletarian revolution and on the basis of equality and liberation for the oppressed peoples within the present U.S. borders. The aim of the proletariat is not for secession and small separate states. Instead it will be important to strive for a country united under a single proletarian state. But for this unity to be real, not forced, and for the legitimate rights of various oppressed peoples to be honored, the proletarian state will also seek to establish various forms of autonomy in areas of sizeable historic concentrations of these peoples.

For the Black people, who were historically oppressed as a nation in the Black Belt South, there continues to be the right of self-determination there, up to and including secession, but again the proletariat does not favor this under now forseeable circumstances. Upon achieving power, or in the armed struggle to win it, if there are indeed significant forces based among Black people raising this demand, the proletariat will have to take this into account, in the light of the overall situation and the principle of weakening the enemy and strengthening the proletarian revolutionary forces. Whether to support a particular move for a separate state among Black people or to oppose it will depend on all this, but the proletarian state—and the proletarian forces nearing power—cannot rely on force against the people to resolve this question, but must rely on the masses, especially in this case the masses of Black people, and work to resolve the question non-antagonistically.

Native Americans, too, have special conditions and history in regard to the land question. They have been repeatedly forced off their land into concentration camps which are euphemistically called "reservations." In undoing this long-standing atrocity the proletariat will, through consultation with the masses of the Indian peoples, establish large areas of land where they can live and work and will provide special assistance to the Indian peoples in developing these areas. Here autonomy will be the policy of the proletarian state—the various Indian peoples will have the right to self-government within the larger socialist state, under certain overall guiding principles. The overall guiding principles referred to are that practices and customs must tend to promote equality, not inequality, unity not division between different peoples, and eliminate, not foster, exploitation. The Indian peoples themselves will be mobilized and relied on to struggle through and enforce these principles. This will mean that policies related to local affairs as well as customs, culture and language will be under autonomous

control, while at the same time the Indian peoples will be encouraged as well to take a full part in the overall affairs of society as a whole. Local customs and practices—such as medicine—usually dismissed (or occasionally "glorified" in all cynicism) by the capitalists today as "pure mysticism" will be studied for those aspects that have an underlying scientific content and these aspects will be promoted and applied generally by the proletariat. These kinds of principles, with different particulars in different cases, will apply in all cases of autonomy within the proletarian state.

Many will apply to the Mexican-American (Chicano) people, particularly in the Southwest, the area of their largest historic concentration. As a part of this, the proletarian state will uphold the right of the masses of the Chicano people to land denied them through violation of the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo, which, as it sealed the U.S. rip-off of land from Mexico in 1848, supposedly "in return" guaranteed Chicanos certain basic—and soon trampled—rights.

While Hawaii, too, is part of the U.S. and the proletariat will fight to win control of it as part of its new state, this state will establish some forms of autonomy of the peoples there—particularly the native Hawaiian people, but also the other oppressed nationalities.

These land and autonomy policies of the proletarian state will not mean that the oppressed peoples will have to live in these areas—which would amount to a new form of segregation. In particular, this will most definitely not be a new chapter in the history of oppression of the Indian peoples—forcing them onto reservations and treating them like special "wards of the state." Instead the new proletarian state, while favoring and encouraging unity and integration, will ensure these formerly oppressed peoples' right to autonomy as part of the policy of promoting real equality between nations and peoples.

In opposition to the blatantly chauvinist policies of the bourgeoisie on the question of the languages and cultures of the oppressed nationalities, the proletarian state will uphold genuine equality. In areas, for example, where many people have Spanish as their first language, both English and Spanish will be taught in the schools, including to white and Black students, and this will be promoted among the workers as well. Both languages will be spoken, so that neither—in particular the language of the minority nationality—is in fact treated as inferior.

A flowering of the cultures of the minority nationalities will be promoted. Only far in the future, when communism has been achieved, including through the struggle for national equality, will

nations be superseded and will the national differences, including in the area of cultures, be transcended.

In the U.S. today the influence of the cultural forms and creations of different nationalities do get spread among many others, and this is favorable for and will be built on by the proletariat when it wins political power. But still, the proletariat will encourage and support the development of separate national forms of culture, all serving the proletarian revolution in their content. Culture whose content is counter-revolutionary, no matter of what national form, will be opposed and suppressed. The state will pay special attention to supporting models within all the various national forms of cultures, models which will combine the best in artistic techniques in these forms with proletarian revolutionary political content.

As for all the ideological poison on the national question—the national chauvinism, racist thinking (as well as the overall secondary problem of narrow nationalism), all these things which the bourgeoisie insists are "everlasting human nature"—the proletariat will deal with these too. Obviously this is a protracted process, but the first and the major qualitative step will have been taken when the capitalist system that is the source of this sewer, and in turn thrives off it, is swept away. A major part of the material base for this among the masses, which includes the fact that capitalism throws them into a dog-eat-dog existence, including competition for a mere livelihood, will be demolished and the struggle will continue to be waged to finally, thoroughly uproot it altogether both in the material and ideological spheres.

Those who use the chauvinist banner to organize any kind of reactionary, racist movement and attacks on minority nationalities will be ruthlessly crushed. The KKK, Nazis and the like will be wiped out and their members forcefully dealt with, beginning with the leaders, who will be given the ultimate punishment.

More broadly in society, the proletariat will deal with this problem by promoting education and struggle among the people. Education about the lives, cultures, history of oppression and resistance of all the formerly oppressed nationalities will be widely and deeply carried out. The capitalist source of the problems of all different sections of the oppressed will be constantly unveiled and hit again and again. The common myths among the people will be discussed and debunked, in large part by relying on organized exchange between the masses themselves, and the lies of the bourgeoisie will be ruthlessly and thoroughly exposed. All this will be greatly aided by the constantly closer contact between people of different nationalities as the policies of integrating the workplaces, neighborhoods and schools are carried out, thus breaking down the

ignorance-breeding separation in which bourgeois ideology generally feeds.

As indicated earlier, while all these measures are necessary to deal with the special forms of national oppression and its whole historical basis, it certainly does not mean that the masses of minority nationalities will be only or mainly concerned with ending their own oppression. In fact, they are overwhelmingly workers, part of the single multinational working class in this country, and many will be in the front ranks of the overall struggle to revolutionize society and change the world.

And in all this, as with all the measures outlined above, the overriding thing will be that the proletariat and the broad masses of people, even while there are many backward ideas left and much ideological struggle to be waged, will be at last living and struggling in a social system which allows and requires them to consciously unite for the common goal, for a bright and classless future where the oppression of one people by another or one part of society by another will be buried in the prehistoric past.

The Crisis of the Cities and Social Decay

The "crisis of the cities," since it is just part of the crisis of capitalism, will have already been dealt a mortal blow by the proletariat's overthrow of this system. The symptoms of the problem—the decay, the unemployment, the degradation enforced by the welfare system, the lousy housing, hospitals and schools—all this will be met head on by the proletarian state and overcome—some of them very quickly. Here, as referred to before, the basic policy of beginning all this by "lifting the bottom up" will be applied across the board. The areas of the heaviest decay in most cities, which are most often the areas into which the oppressed peoples have been forced, will be tackled first. Once the grip of capital—and its grotesque parasitism—is broken on these cities, all sorts of miracles will be accomplished. The debts—and debts on top of debts—owed to the banks will all be cancelled. Since the funds supposedly allotted to such social services as schools, hospitals, roads, etc. go in large part to these parasites, this, in itself, will make possible freeing large resources to deal with the real problems of the masses. As most cities have decayed, their major financial and big business sections have been lavishly built up and, in fact, with the capitalist tax structure and the policies of the banks, the deterioration of the masses' conditions in the cities is the necessary and inevitable accompaniment of this capitalist parasitism.

This grotesque distortion, a fitting product of capitalism especially in its imperialist stage, will be put to an end. The massive land speculation will be ended. Such things as red-lining, which stops construction dead in many oppressed people's neighborhoods, will be abolished. The arsonists, and particularly those who hire them to destroy buildings for speculative profit, will be stopped by force. These huge structures will immediately be put to the use of the masses—quickly converted to basic housing where that is required—and the focus will be put on reconstructing the neighborhoods which have been forced into decay. Many workers skilled in construction for example—who, as it is now, largely work on these glass palaces when they are allowed to work at all—will immediately be shifted into reconstruction and further construction of housing for the masses. The absurd contradiction represented by the ever-visible sight of masses of unemployed people hanging out on the street of their broken down neighborhoods—this too will be overcome at the stroke of the fist that knocks over capitalism. Instead of being held apart by the law of profits, these unemployed people will be put together with the materials needed and set to work on these neighborhoods. Not only will segregation be outlawed but the financial policies previously employed by the banks and insurance companies which feed and profit off it will have been ended along with their control of financial resources.

The source of massive crime is clear—even the bourgeois liberals wring their hands over it—it is nothing but capitalism, with both the material and ideological conditions it generates. The big time criminals, particularly the gangsters and others who make fortunes off crime, will be smashed and in most cases executed. "White-collar crime" will be dealt a severe blow when the capitalist system which provides its whole nourishment is gone, although continuing struggle against graft and corruption will have to be waged. The "hardened criminals"—those for whom crime has become a way of life—will be stopped by force from this pursuit. All those who can be re-educated, once the dog-eat-dog ways of capitalism no longer dominate society generally, will be remolded and not only become productive members of society but will be actively involved in the class struggle to thoroughly transform it. The youth, many of whom turn to crime not only for economic reasons, but because capitalism has offered them nothing, no purpose at all in life, will be given such a purpose—their full participation in the continuing revolution in society and the whole world. With unemployment ended, large ranks of people who turn to petty crime as a last resort, and often do years—even die—in prison as a result, will be freed from all this to become productive members

of society. As for the prisons themselves, those among the former big capitalists and their top flunkeys who have not been otherwise punished will be occupying them. But even there, as opposed to the capitalist practice of brutality and degradation, they will be allowed—and required—to carry out productive labor and at least, for the first time, actually produce something useful, while also being used as negative examples to politically educate the masses.

Many of today's prisoners have either committed no real crime, or are becoming genuinely "rehabilitated" by studying and grasping the nature of capitalist society and resolving to join the fight to bring it down. At the time of the insurrection, the class-conscious proletariat will not only unleash them and their burning desire to bring down capitalism but will rely on them as a key force in leading other prisoners to do the same. While the bourgeoisie accuses the prisoners and others of being "animals," it is in fact the capitalist system's inborn dog-eat-dog animalism that is responsible for the obvious "social decay" in society, and this will be abolished, through socialist revolution, as society's guiding law and value.

The twisted outgrowths of this society, such as pornography and prostitution, will be forcibly abolished right off the bat and their re-emergence not tolerated. As for the prostitutes and others victimized by this capitalist degeneracy, they will be given productive work, politically educated and freed from the immediate source of their oppression, while education will also be carried out broadly in society to expose capitalism as the source of this degradation and to remove the tendency to blame or look down on the victims.

As for homosexuality, this too, is perpetuated and fostered by the decay of capitalism, especially as it sinks into deeper crisis. This is particularly the case because of the distorted, oppressive man-woman relations capitalism promotes. Once the proletariat is in power, no one will be discriminated against in jobs, housing and the like merely on the basis of being a homosexual. But at the same time education will be conducted throughout society on the ideology behind homosexuality and its material roots in exploiting society, and struggle will be waged to eliminate it and reform homosexuals.

The urban crisis is an ugly indictment indeed of capitalism. Here in this highly advertised "best of all possible societies" its highest form of development, the cities, are increasingly becoming obscenely parasitic palaces surrounded by spreading decay and rubble. A true monument to the fetter that capitalism has become on society. Proletarian power will not only replace the rubble, and end the parasitism, it will reverse the whole tendency under capi-

talism to crazily swell these few urban centers even as they rot, and instead will begin a process of spreading out the productive forces of society—building up smaller cities and the rural areas and developing industry there along with more advanced means of communication and transportation and other facilities, and thus moving to bridge the historic gaps between the cities and countryside that arose with the first cities of ancient times.

Women

The dominant social relations in this society perfectly mirror the economic relations—exploitative. Not only is there the general oppression of women, but even the working class man, infected with the dominant bourgeois ideology and frustrated with his role in capitalist society, often plays the role of the bourgeois in relation to his wife and children.

The proletarian revolution will change all that, through a prolonged process of struggle involving both men and women and including the children.

Politically the proletariat will seek to unleash the fury of women as a mighty force for revolution. The seizure of power by the proletariat will require this and, as Lenin put it, a measure of the thoroughness (and thus success) of any revolution is the degree to which it mobilizes and emancipates women. Showing his awestruck terror at the powerful role of women in the historic Paris Commune of 1871, the first proletarian revolution, a bourgeois commentator of the time exclaimed, "If the French nation were a nation of women, what a terrible nation it would be." This, the proletariat certainly cannot fail to grasp much more deeply than any bourgeois—and to act upon in a way the bourgeoisie never can or would.

Upon coming to power, the proletariat will carry forward the struggle to break the chains which hold back women from a full role in society, and thereby hold back the proletariat itself from completely transforming society. There will be an immediate ban on discrimination of any kind, including against women, in work and pay as well as every other sphere in society, and at the same time special measures will be taken that take into account the particular problems—such as pregnancy—that affect working women. Birth control will be encouraged, thus combatting the tendency for unwanted pregnancy to force women who are struggling to break out of the confines of the home back into it. Attention will be paid to developing other methods of birth control in place of present ones which endanger women. The right to abortion will be guaranteed, and the capitalist policy of forced sterilization, directed against poor women and particularly women of the op-

pressed nationalities, will be stopped.

In order to further free the women from the narrow confines of household work, men must not only be struggled with to equally share the burden, but the proletariat will work step by step to establish and involve men and women alike in various institutions like collective laundries, kitchens and child care centers which will promote the gradual socialization of the task of raising children.

As far as the policy toward the family, it will be recognized for what it is: not some holy or sacred institution to be preserved for all time, but on the other hand an institution, that even under socialism, generally corresponds to the level of society, because of the fact that for some time there will still be remnants of capitalism including the need for commodity exchange, wages, etc., and for obtaining the bulk of necessities and many social services through this means. For this reason, the family will still play an important role in raising children. But not only will the family be a secondary form—even more so than under capitalism—for determining their upbringing, but its influence in promoting conservatism among its members, especially the women and children, will be actively combatted. Their attention and energy will be focused on the broader questions and movements in society.

The right of divorce will be upheld—not to promote divorce, for in fact divorce will become less common than under capitalism—but to strengthen the free and voluntary character of marriage relations and relations between men and women in general. While the parents will still have significant responsibility for their children, this does not mean they are "theirs" and there will be struggle to prevent parents from imposing old values, and conservative, non-revolutionary thinking generally on the children.

The struggle around the woman question will not be confined to any one sphere, but will go on throughout all of society. Revolution is impossible without the constant breaking with old ideas and old institutions, and the practices and values which promote the oppression of women are a key prop of the old; they must be a key target of the proletariat in destroying the old and creating the new. In any sphere, from employment to literature and art, this question will be raised and will be the source of ongoing struggle in order to ensure the full participation of women in the socialist society and the ongoing proletarian revolution and thereby immensely strengthen that revolution.

Education

In recent years in this country many studies have been done and things written around the theme—"why can't Johnny read?"—why does the educational system consistently fail even to

give most people basic educational skills? These studies and all the furor that goes on around them generally end up blaming "Johnny" and/or his parents and ignore the essential fact—"Johnny" is *not supposed to read*, beyond a very low level, in a society such as this; education for the masses of people in capitalist society is not supposed to do anything more than prepare them for a lifetime of slavery for the capitalist class—with just enough basic knowledge to run a machine or some similar task—or a short life as a soldier in the imperialist armed forces. And even more fundamentally than this, capitalist education is education in capitalism, in its outlook and principles and the notion that these and the society that they serve are eternal and unsurpassable. Such an educational process—turning history and reality upside down, reducing the masses to a blind mob if they appear in the picture at all and revolving everything around a few "great men," geniuses, monarchs, presidents, etc., sympathetically portraying the worst tyrants and oppressors as heroes and models to be emulated and, of course, blotting out the class content of all important events and actions in history and the world today, preaching idealism, metaphysics, pragmatism and all manner of nonsense and poison—this is a crucial weapon for the bourgeoisie in maintaining its rule over the masses of people and its death-lock on society.

By the same token, completely revolutionizing education, in theory and practice, is a crucial question for the proletariat in building socialist society under its rule and advancing to communism. In no way can the proletariat leave the educational system and its basic principles and methods as they were under capitalism, or education will be a key weapon of the forces working to restore the old, capitalist society.

The proletariat in power will immediately take up the question of overcoming the very real problem of illiteracy and lack of even basic education among broad masses of people in this country. But beyond that, and of much more fundamental importance, it will completely change the educational system at its foundation. Marxism, the revolutionary science of the proletariat, will be applied to guide education in every aspect.

The old "tracking system" so common in capitalist education—where a handful of children, overwhelmingly from the upper classes and with all sorts of privileges and advantages denied to the masses, are selected and groomed for positions of "leadership" and authority in society, while those of the broad ranks of the proletariat and the oppressed nationalities most of all are doomed to be "tracked" into a lifetime of drudgery and agony—such a system, which makes a principle out of the division between men-

tal and manual labor and plays a key part in perpetuating this division and class divisions in general, will be thrown on the scrap heap where it belongs. In its place, and in place of the whole educational "theory" and structure of which it is a crucial link, will be applied educational policies and practices that serve the objective of overcoming such a division of labor and class distinctions generally. From the very start, the educational system of the proletarian state will combine rather than separate mental and manual labor, preparing the millions and tens of millions of the new generation to be able to carry out and integrate the two, linking study and experiments in the laboratory with practical application of the principles studied and summation of the results. It will promote and train the masses in the scientific outlook and method of dialectical materialism. Further, this will all be carried out in close connection with the work and activities of the masses of people as a whole, in factories, neighborhoods, the farms and rural areas and so on, so that the students—and the teachers and other leaders in the educational institutions as well—gain a real and overall understanding of how society runs—and more than that, how the proletariat and the formerly oppressed masses in general are transforming society in every sphere.

At the same time, the self-seeking competition, both petty and vicious, that bourgeois ideology in general and bourgeois education in particular extols and instills in the youth, along with everyone else—even down to the way in which it sets them against each other in the pursuit of grades and rewards—this, too, will no longer be a guiding principle of education, and more than that it will instead be an object of continuing criticism. Abolished as well will be the absolute authority of the teacher in the classroom and the educational hierarchy above the teacher, and also criticized will be the whole notion of blind obedience to authority and convention in general. Teachers and others responsible for giving leadership to education will be exactly that—leaders—but not people "whose word is law" and whose opinions must be treated as infallible truth, or obeyed in any case. The socialist educational system will work to break down, not uphold, the divisions between teachers, administrators, etc. and the students—and the masses of people in general.

The educational policy of the proletarian state will fundamentally serve the cause and be guided by the aim of bringing up successors to the proletarian revolution. The students will be educated in the principles of Marxism and led in applying them to all questions. But even more than that, they—and the teachers, administrators, etc.—will be led in plunging themselves, together with masses of people, into political struggle and into the

ideological battle between Marxism and bourgeois-reactionary philosophy in various forms throughout society. The proletariat, as a crucial part of maintaining its rule, continuing to revolutionize society and advancing toward the abolition of classes and the backward ideas that correspond to and serve exploitation and class division, must not only educate each successive generation in these basic principles and outlook but must thoroughly imbue them with the spirit and method of Marxism—including its scientific, critical struggle for the truth, its challenging of tradition and the "force of habit" and its daring to rebel against any power or authority, even those claiming the mantle of Marxism itself, that seeks to enforce the old and reactionary. In all this, the educational system of the proletarian state, guided by the principles summarized here, must and will play a key role and will be a decisive arena of class struggle.

Another very important problem which this new educational system of the proletariat must and will take up is the exposure, criticism and repudiation of the lies and distortions of the bourgeoisie and especially its propaganda and miseducation that serve to divide the masses of people within this country—between different nationalities, men and women, and so on—and to separate them from and promote chauvinist hostility toward the rest of the international proletariat and the oppressed peoples and nations of the world. In direct opposition to this, the educational system in this country, once it is in the hands of the proletariat, will consistently educate the young people in proletarian internationalism and promote the revolutionary unity of the masses of people in this country among their own ranks and together with the people of the world.

This it will do not through the pious and hypocritical sermons of the bourgeois liberals, that "everybody should get along with everybody else," but by deeply and in an all-around way exposing the class basis and class interests behind racism, chauvinism toward other peoples and nations, the notions of male superiority and all the rest of the bourgeoisie's ideological arsenal—showing that these are rooted in and fostered by the very nature of the capitalist system and the bourgeiosie, and exploiting classes generally, and in turn serve to perpetuate them, and that in opposition to this the proletariat not only has no interest in clinging to and promoting them but must strike at, shatter and finally destroy them along with their material basis of discrimination and national oppression. This will be done not only through study and general discussion, including classes educating all students in the real history, scientifically understood, of the various oppressed peoples and nations, inside and outside this country, of the oppres-

sion of women in class society, etc., but also by bringing out from the experience of the masses themselves, and through debate and struggle among them, what the concrete effects of national oppression, the oppression of women, and similar crimes of capitalism are and whose interests they and their ideological expressions of racism and chauvinism serve. And this will not be carried out by the students alone, in isolation from the rest of society and the masses of people, but by having representatives of the masses, including even workers and oppressed people from other countries, come into the classrooms and give the students a living understanding of these questions, and by having the students go out broadly among the workers, the formerly oppressed nationalities, women and others, and hold discussion and struggle with them on these decisive questions.

And in general, the socialist educational system will work to break down the separation between the broad masses as a whole and the students, especially those who are enrolled in colleges and similar "institutions of higher learning." It will be necessary for such institutions, involving only a small minority of the people, to exist for some time, and in particular to train scientists, engineers, technicians, etc. from among the ranks of the masses as part of breaking the domination over these spheres by intellectuals trained, not only technically but ideologically, in the old society; but, from the very beginning and increasingly, the socialist educational system will take concrete steps to combat the tendency for such students in particular to be fashioned into an "elite," standing above and lording it over the masses.

An important part of this is the transformation of the educational system itself, including at the college level, along the lines already discussed. But, in addition, part-time colleges, connected directly with factories and other workplaces and enrolling increasing numbers of the workers themselves, will be developed and spread. Beyond that, the criteria for admission to colleges will be based first and above all on the demonstrated devotion to the revolutionary cause of the international proletariat, as determined through discussion among the masses under the leadership of the Party. And further, as soon as possible, in conformity and in tempo with the consolidation of power by the proletariat and its first major victories in establishing control over and undertaking the socialist transformation of the economy, the policy will be adopted of sending all high school graduates to work in the factories, in the rural areas or in some cases into the revolutionary armed forces, with students for the colleges chosen from among the masses, old and young, according to the principles and criteria outlined already. At the same time, colleges will be increasingly established

and function in close connection with the factories and neighborhoods where the masses work and are organized politically, including special attention to the rural areas, as another important step in breaking down the "ivory tower" atmosphere of colleges. And more than that, representatives of the masses themselves, chosen according to the same basic criteria as those for selecting students, will be organized to take part, together with the teachers and other full-time educational personnel, and with representatives of the students themselves, in giving leadership in the schools and struggling to see that these principles and methods of the socialist educational system are upheld and actually implemented.

Overall, the struggle to revolutionize the educational system will be a crucial battleground in the new, socialist society, exactly because education plays such a central role in serving and perpetuating one kind of system or another. The proletariat will have to wage a protracted and intense fight against the forces of reaction, and of tradition and habit, to establish and develop an educational system that furthers the socialist transformation and transition to communism and trains, in theory and practice, successive generations of class-conscious activists in the great movement of the international proletariat. Thus, while the students will be led to grasp and develop knowledge and bring forth creations and innovations in all fields, from technical and scientific to artistic and cultural, a continual battle must be waged for this to be under the guidance of Marxism and in the interests of the proletariat. And therefore their central and most important subject, in accordance with the principles of socialist education, will be the class struggle—proletarian revolution.

Culture

Culture, too—literature and art, drama, music, movies, etc.—and the mass media in general, play an enormously powerful role in shaping public opinion and promoting one kind of outlook and values or another. Anyone who has ever been moved to tears or anger, had their hopes and sights raised or lowered and who in one way or another has been moved or provoked to action by these things—and there is almost no one who has not had this experience—knows very well that this is true. But what is not always apparent, and what in fact the bourgeoisie goes to great lengths to cover up, is that all works of culture—and all "newscasting," etc. as well—serve one class or another (so long as society is divided into classes) and promote the outlook and values of a particular class and the form of society that corresponds to its interests. It is impossible for them not to. And, despite the tireless efforts of the

bourgeoisie to conceal it—and to deny that there is any class nature to culture in general—the cultural productions it churns out and widely disseminates, as much as the crude propaganda it calls "objective news reporting," represent a powerful ideological weapon aimed against the proletariat and masses of people. In fact, they serve the bourgeoisie all the more effectively and insidiously the more they are able to camouflage the class nature of this, because in this way the bourgeoisie can present its reactionary outlook and values—racism, chauvinism, nationalism, self-seeking careerism, "look out for number one," pragmatic concern only for your own narrow and immediate interests, and all the rest, including the degeneracy that corresponds to the nature of capitalism and the bourgeoisie, especially in their period of decay and decline—as universal and eternal expressions of an unchanging "human nature," which dictates that society will always be divided into exploiters and exploited. And so long as the bourgeoisie rules society and therefore has domination over the media and the means of producing and disseminating culture, the dominant culture and the outlook and values promoted by it will play such a powerful role in serving the reactionary interests of that class and its system.

For all these reasons, the proletariat, as it seizes power, must immediately seize control of the mass media and move decisively to establish its domination over culture as a whole.

This is not a simple question or a problem easily resolved. People in general demand cultural works because they do present a picture that is higher than life itself and do inspire, or at least impel, people toward one goal or another. Life without such works would be extremely dull and dismal—and in fact it is impossible to imagine this, because people will always bring forward cultural works in one form or another, precisely because of the function they do serve. Further, in the U.S., with its highly developed means of communication, the masses of people have become accustomed to and demand a large quantity and variety of such works. If the proletariat, upon taking control of society, were not able to meet this demand fairly quickly, it would not be able to maintain power—the masses would not support the proletarian state for long if it failed to do this. At the same time, the effect of bourgeois culture on the masses is to further demoralize and degrade them, and objectively the greater the quantity and the higher the artistic/technical level of this culture, the worse it is. The masses need, most of all, cultural works that enable them to realize their real interests—to revolutionize society and the whole world; works that enable them to grasp their ability to do this and arouse them to fight for this goal. But producing cultural works, with

not only a revolutionary content but also a high level of artistic and technical quality, requires not only the guidance of a correct line and sharp struggle, both ideological and practical, but also people, and more than a few, with the training in the various skills necessary for this. For this reason, and as part of its overall strategic orientation, the proletariat in power must and will unite as broadly as possible with people in the artistic fields who are willing to apply themselves to producing cultural works that serve the interests of the proletariat and promote the socialist transformation of society. And in doing so it will have to take into account the fact that while many suffered hardship, including those discriminated against for being progressive, some of them earned rather large—and in some cases very large—incomes from their performances in the old society, and will have to apply the same kind of policy toward them in this regard as it does toward technical and scientific personnel, and intellectuals, in general, trained and employed in the old society.

Among the more or less professionally trained cultural performers, the proletariat will seek to unite with most firmly, rely on and bring forward those who have played a progressive, in some cases a consciously revolutionary, role. Even today, in the face of the extreme pressure and at times outright repression—not excluding murder—that the bourgeoisie uses against artists, where the allure of wealth and fame (or the promotion of cynicism) does not work to keep them from bringing forth progressive works and playing a progressive role in general, more than a few fight back against this and some have made important contributions to the development of the struggle against the imperialist system. Many more will do so as the revolutionary movement of the proletariat and the united front under its leadership develops, and especially as things approach and then reach the level of the all-out battle for power. A large number of artists, even some among the more highly paid, are dissatisfied with and by various means resist the ways in which culture is prostituted to the needs and demands of the bourgeoisie and the imperialist system. While few are actually revolutionaries, and even fewer conscious communists, on the other hand only a minority are warhorses and outright flunkies for imperialism and the bourgeoisie like John Wayne, Bob Hope, Frank Sinatra and Sammy Davis, Jr. When the proletariat seizes power, and as it undertakes the gigantic task and struggle of transforming culture and establishing the dominance and widespread dissemination of cultural works meeting the demands of the masses not only for quantity, variety and high artistic and technical standards but also, and more fundamentally, for content that inspires and further unleashes them to gain mastery over and revolutionize every sphere of society and make their international-

ist contribution, it will be both necessary and possible to unite and struggle with significant numbers of professional cultural workers (broadly defined) from the old society to accomplish this task.

At the same time, and even more importantly, the proletarian state will support, bring forward and rely on the masses of workers and their firmest allies in creating and popularizing revolutionary culture. Even under capitalism, for all that it crushes and degrades the masses and seeks to reduce them to a mere animal-like existence, attempting to suffocate any higher aspirations or broader vision than the daily struggle for survival and a place on the capitalist treadmill, nevertheless among the masses of workers, oppressed peoples and others, many different forms and works of culture are continually created which—even if, spontaneously, they do not have a revolutionary content and generally mistake the source of suffering in society and present both problems and solutions in terms that are utopian, individualistic, etc.—still overwhelmingly speak to basic problems and concerns of millions of people and strongly reflect their yearning for a way out of them, and even the attempt to forge such a way. The bourgeoisie itself has to reckon with and draw from all this in producing its cultural works—only, of course, to concentrate what is limited and incorrect in the masses' spontaneous views, what itself reflects the influence of bourgeois ideological domination, and hurl it back at the masses in a barrage of reactionary cultural ammunition. But, on the other hand, as it builds its revolutionary movement toward the overthrow of capitalism, and much more fully when it achieves that goal and seizes power, the proletariat, with the leadership of the Party, can and will draw much more deeply on the cultural works and forms created by the masses, concentrate what is correct, what represents their desire for an end to the torment and indignity that capitalism means and expresses their highest aspirations, and synthesize out of all this a revolutionary content, infused with the outlook and lofty aims of the proletariat. And in turn, the class-conscious proletariat and the proletarian state, with the Party at the head, will lead the masses in taking these up as their own, popularizing them broadly and further developing them.

In order to achieve this, and to carry out the struggle on the cultural front in general, the role of advanced, revolutionary cultural workers, emerging from among the basic masses and from among the professional artists, is extremely important. The class-conscious proletariat will give active support to such forces. More than that it will lead the broader ranks of the working class and the masses generally to wage a fierce struggle against the attempts of the bourgeoisie to crush and demoralize them and in various ways prevent their influence from being felt broadly in

society; this is an important part of the class struggle under capitalism, and with the overthrow of capitalism and establishment of the proletarian state, the role of such revolutionary cultural workers, both in educating and inspiring the masses through their work and as advanced forces among cultural workers in general, will assume even greater significance. So, too, the creation and popularizing of model cultural works in various forms—with a powerful revolutionary content and artistic style and quality that will meet the demands of and be embraced by the masses—will play a very important part in waging the class struggle on the cultural front and, with the seizure of power by the proletariat, in revolutionizing culture as a whole. This, too, the Party must strive to lead forward as part of the all-around assault on the bourgeoisie.

With such advanced cultural workers and model cultural works as a vital force and influence, the proletarian state will actively promote the creation of revolutionary culture, in various forms and styles, both by professional cultural workers and by the broad masses themselves. Cultural productions by professional artists will be staged throughout the country, including at workplaces and in the workers' neighborhoods, for free or at a minimal price of admission. Beyond this, part-time cultural groups will be organized in the factories, neighborhoods, on the farms, etc., as well as in the armed forces, to both popularize more broadly the works produced by the professional artists and to unleash and give direction to the creativity of the workers and other basic masses in producing revolutionary culture.

Further, the professional artists will be led and assisted in linking themselves with the masses of working people, both to learn from their experiences and ideas in creating cultural works and to assist the masses themselves in creating them. This will include taking part in productive labor together with the workers and, more than that, taking part together with them in political movements and ideological struggle. Some of the professional artists, especially those trained and more privileged in the old society, will resist this—and a few will be incorrigible reactionaries who will have to be swept off the stage altogether and forced to accept the rule of the proletariat and its transformation of society—but most can be won to this policy and many will welcome it and enthusiastically apply themselves to carrying it out. The orientation of the proletariat with regard to the professional artists in general, including those trained in the new society as well as those in the old, will be to unite with them, struggle with them to combat the elitist tendencies and bourgeois ideology in general that tend to be fostered by their position, win and lead them in applying their acquired skills and talents to serve the proletarian revolution and in

the process remold their style of life and their thinking in accordance with the principles and aims of this revolution. In this way, and more fundamentally by the Party and state leading and supporting the masses of working people themselves to both create cultural works and to criticize and in an overall sense supervise the creations and work of the professional artists, the masses themselves will gain mastery over culture and fight to bring about the victory of socialism over capitalism in this crucial sphere.

But victory in this arena, and in society as a whole, will only be possible for the proletariat if it correctly carries out the policy of destroying the old and creating the new. With regard to culture in particular, this means organizing mass criticism to expose and repudiate the reactionary culture, and especially the more influential reactionary cultural works, of the bourgeoisie and on the other hand to develop and wield revolutionary culture as a key weapon in attacking the outlook and values of capitalism and the bourgeoisie and promoting those of the proletariat. One very important aspect of this, as in education and other spheres, is the struggle against the various forms of racism, national chauvinism and other such ideological poison, including the idea of male supremacy. In addition to exposing and rallying people to fight against them, and upholding the revolutionary stand of the proletariat and in particular proletarian internationalism, through criticism and the creation and popularization of revolutionary cultural works in general, a key question for the proletariat, spoken to earlier, is actually establishing equality between different national forms of culture. Without this it will be impossible to achieve overall equality between different nationalities, to unite the proletariat, together with its allies, on the basis of its revolutionary interests and to maintain the rule of the working class and carry forward its historic mission.

It is for these reasons that the proletariat wages the fight for equality of languages and national cultures as an important part of building its revolutionary movement toward the overthrow of capitalism; and, with the overthrow of capitalism, the proletarian state will actively promote such equality. Specifically, cultural works produced in one language will be translated into the other languages, performers will learn several different languages and to put on performances and create works in these various languages, and the masses of different nationalities will be encouraged to learn from the forms and styles characteristic of each other's nationality. With regard to culture and language, autonomy will mean, among other things, that the styles, forms and expressions, as well as the language, common to people of a particular nationality will be given priority in publications, in the creation of cultural

works, etc., within those geographic areas where autonomy is applied, and these will be popularized throughout society as well. Most fundamentally, the many different national forms will be utilized and given full expression to create a powerful cultural arsenal of the proletariat, rich in diversity but expressing a unified revolutionary content and inspiring the masses of all nationalities to fight for their common revolutionary interests, including the advance of the world revolution.

What has been said here applies in general to sports as well, which is also part of culture, broadly speaking. Today, sports is subordinate to the economic and political dictates of capitalism and the bourgeoisie and is utilized by the ruling class to promote and glorify imperialist plunder and power politics ("America number one") and the capitalist values of competition above cooperation and "winning" above all ("the thrill of victory and the agony of defeat") and to propagandize and instill the sense of loyalty and blind obedience to company and country and the military discipline enforced by the bourgeoisie both in its armed forces and in its factories, schools and other facets of life. And sports under capitalism fosters the division of labor and outlook characteristic of and required by capitalism—in particular the separation between a handful of professional heroes and the masses, who are largely reduced to the role of spectators. Conformity is enforced as the price for success. Clean-cut models of Mr. and Miss America are enshrined, especially for the youth. The outlook of everything by the (play) book is supreme. In general there is no room for creative thinking, questioning, daring and innovation, and what cannot be suppressed is co-opted and turned into its opposite. Not only is sports not separate from or "above" politics, it is a major political and ideological weapon of the bourgeoisie.

The proletariat, too, as it takes control of society, and of sports as a part of that, will develop sports as a weapon to promote its outlook and values and the social and political relationships that serve its revolutionary interests. Sports will be broadly organized among the masses, and equally among women and men, with facilities built and located throughout the areas where they live and work, beginning with the upgrading and new construction of facilities in the areas which under capitalism are most broken down and with the fewest and worst playgrounds, recreation centers, etc. Emphasis will be placed not on the professional arena, but on the playgrounds, where mass participation will be centered, and the creativity of the masses in sports activity will be unleashed and developed further. Cooperation and the learning of skills and innovations from each other will be emphasized in

sports, while friendly competition is given secondary place, enabling the masses to take part broadly and contributing to their overall health as well as recreation. These will be the approaches and values guiding the sports activities within the socialist state and in exchanges between it and other countries—fostering and strengthening the daring to challenge convention and break new ground, and the unity and solidarity between the masses of people here and internationally.

For a period of time, national sports teams and even some professional athletics, sponsored and subsidized by the state, will be retained, but this will be given second place—in resources allocated and attention devoted—to the mass sports activities in the schools, neighborhoods, factories, farms, etc. The whole "professional mentality"—the notion that those engaged in sports as a more or less full-time pursuit, and subsidized to one degree or another in order to be able to do so, somehow deserve a superior social position—will be criticized and struggled against; and, of course, the control of sports by capitalists and the prostitution of sports to private profit and the treatment of the athletes as merely a means to that end will be abolished along with reactionary practices and relations such as the absolute authority of coaches, etc. The same basic approach taken toward professional artists will be applied here, too—with the aim of narrowing step by step the differences between the full-time professional performers and the masses of people—involving the professionals in productive labor and political and ideological struggle together with the masses and leading them to play an active role in assisting the development of mass sports activities throughout society and in taking part in these activities together with the masses as well. Sports will no longer represent the desperate hope of millions to escape from a lifetime of poverty and oppression—a hope cruelly frustrated and dashed for the great majority by the very workings and values of capitalism, to which everything in this society, including sports, is subjected—but instead the new society, created through the struggle of the proletariat and in its image as a class, will eliminate such poverty and oppression and transform all spheres, including sports, into vehicles through which the tens and tens of millions formerly oppressed can unite and struggle to realize their higher interests and to advance humanity as a whole.

In sum, destruction of the old and creation of the new culture will mean that, as the proletariat seizes political power and control over the media and cultural spheres broadly, it will immediately suppress the most decadent and openly reactionary cultural productions of the bourgeoisie, and then move as rapidly as possible to criticize and expose the class nature of bourgeois cultural works

in general and replace them with the culture representing the revolutionary proletariat, a culture of a qualitatively different nature and on a far higher level than bourgeois culture or anything else that has preceded it. Swept from the stage, in this sphere and overall, will be the domination of the representatives of the exploiting classes and their lackeys and enforcers down through the ages, and in their place will arise the real makers of history, the true heroes and the masters of the modern age—the masses of people of the world, with the proletariat in the forefront.

Proletarian Dictatorship, Democracy and the Rights of the People

Democracy in capitalist society, including the much advertised "American democracy," is a sham. It is democracy only for and among the ranks of the bourgeoisie, which exercises a ruthless dictatorship over the proletariat and the masses of people in general. As Lenin once pointed out, to establish the truth of this, it is only necessary to point to the use of troops by the capitalists to suppress even strikes, at least serious ones, by workers, which occurs regularly in every capitalist country, including those with the most glittering facade of democracy, and which has happened repeatedly in the history of the U.S.A.

After World War 2, while dishing out armed terror to the oppressed peoples throughout the world and also to the lowest strata within this country, the U.S. imperialists have been able, on the other hand, to conceal to a certain degree the sharp edge of their dictatorship over the proletariat in the U.S. itself. This has been on the basis of their world domination and the crumbs they have been able to throw to significant sections of the proletariat and the petty bourgeoisie and the relative stability this has brought them. But any serious challenge to the bourgeoisie has been met with vicious force. When you consider the fact that this has even been true of numerous economic strikes and when you add to this the consistent and vicious repression of the oppressed peoples in the U.S. and the bloody suppression by police, national guard and army units directed against mass uprisings of Black people and others during the high tide of struggle in the late 1960s and early 1970s, plus the murder of dozens of Black Panther Party members and other revolutionaries, along with the jailing of hundreds, perhaps thousands of revolutionary activists—the real picture of phony democracy and actual dictatorship for the masses in this country begins to emerge more clearly.

In addition, the more or less "normal functioning" of capitalist society, upon examination, reveals undeniably that political af-

fairs are thoroughly controlled by the bourgeoisie and its representatives. They completely dominate the mass media and they control access to vital information about political issues and world events. Further, the very division of labor of capitalist society determines that the millions of the working class and other poor and oppressed people are prevented from having any determining voice in the political life of capitalist society; and, should they attempt to do so, which necessarily brings them into direct confrontation with the capitalist state, then the armed forces of its dictatorship are ruthlessly unleashed against them.

With this understanding, the hysterical accusations of the capitalists that communists and socialist society stand for the destruction of democracy can be seen to be akin to the hypocritical and cynical cries of the rapist who screams that he has been assaulted by the person who has come to the rescue of his victim. In fact, communists stand for and socialist society represents the destruction of *bourgeois* democracy—democracy for the bourgeoisie and dictatorship over the proletariat and the masses generally—and the realization, for the first time, of real and unparalleled democracy for the masses of people through the dictatorship of the proletariat over the bourgeoisie. The rights of the masses of people—which under capitalism are suppressed and curtailed and in essence come down to the right to be exploited and oppressed and, at most, to elect which group among the oppressors shall preside over their enslavement—assume a completely different dimension and are of a qualitatively higher order once the proletariat has overthrown the bourgeoisie and established its own rule.

First of all, the most basic right of the masses in the new society, which it is impossible for them to exercise under capitalism, is the right to be the masters of society, in every sphere, and to transform it in their interests. But, in order for this to be achieved and continued, it must find expression in concrete policies and actions, above all in political life and struggle. As stressed earlier, the most crucial question for the newly-established proletarian state is to draw the millions and tens of millions of working class and other formerly oppressed people into the task of exercising political power and administering affairs of state. To this end, upon the establishment of political power by the proletariat in this country, the state will make available to the masses of people the vast means of communication that have been previously monopolized by the bourgeoisie. Television, radio, printing presses, billboards and other vehicles for the expression of political views will provide time and space for groups and representatives among the masses to put forward and struggle over their ideas on

the major political questions; and the masses as a whole will be organized, in the factories, neighborhoods, farms, schools, armed forces, and so on to hear and debate these views and to struggle out these questions in general. All this will not be without leadership and direction; it will be under the overall guidance of the Party, but views and opinions expressed by the masses that are contrary to those of the Party will not be suppressed, unless they represent the attempts of actual counter-revolutionaries to bring about the overthrow of the proletariat's political power and restore capitalism. And in that case, too, the masses themselves will be relied on to struggle against, expose and suppress such people and to distinguish through such struggle what are backward and mistaken ideas among the masses and what are actual attempts at fomenting counter-revolution.

Political leaders and leading bodies will be chosen and the criteria for leadership based not in the contest between self-seeking careerists to promote themselves into positions over the masses and establish economic as well as political relationships characteristic of capitalism—not, in other words, through the bourgeois electoral process. Thousands of revolutionary political leaders will have emerged and been tested in the course of the struggle to seize power. But there will also be the ongoing process of selecting leadership once the proletariat has won power, including the constant need to get rid of the stale and bring forward the fresh. Through consultation between the Party and the masses, leadership will be established and developed from the basic levels of society to the leading political positions in the national government. Leaders themselves will continually emerge and be tested and tempered from among the masses and mass revolutionary struggle. The standard for leadership will be the demonstrated devotion to the cause of proletarian revolution, the determination to grasp and apply its revolutionary science and the ability to inspire and lead the masses in the same course. The masses and mass organizations in every institution throughout the country will not only be relied on by the Party in selecting such leadership but also in politically supervising it—struggling with and assisting leaders to stay on the revolutionary road, and ousting or overthrowing those who refuse to do so.

The basic principle applied within the Party and throughout society as a whole will not be "pure" (that is, hypocritical and bourgeois) democracy, but democratic centralism. Through its application among the masses, as the Party Constitution puts it, "it is essential to create a political situation in which there is both centralism and democracy, both unified line and broad initiative, both discipline and ideological struggle, both unity of will and action

and personal ease of mind and liveliness." The masses will have the right, and it will be the policy of the Party and state to encourage and unleash them, to criticize their leaders, on any level, to hold meetings, organize demonstrations, put up posters, pass out leaflets and so on—again, with the exception of actual attempts to promote counter-revolution. To assist the masses in arriving at a higher level of unity through such struggle and in making the distinction between contradictions and contradictory views among their own ranks on the one hand and the views and actions of counter-revolutionaries on the other, the Party will not only provide overall leadership to this but will establish and publicize basic guidelines, along the following general lines: ideas and actions should help to strengthen, not undermine, the dictatorship of the proletariat and the mastery of the masses over society; to carry forward, not oppose, the socialist transformation of the economy; to promote unity, on a revolutionary basis, between different nationalities and men and women, not division between them; to promote the further revolutionization of society and the advance toward communism, not the reversal of the revolution and the restoration of capitalism, including as a decisive part of this upholding proletarian internationalism, not chauvinism and nationalism; to strengthen, including through criticism, the leading role of the Party, not weaken it; to foster the ideology of the proletariat and the revolutionizing of people's thinking, not the ideological poison of the bourgeoisie and the force of tradition and habit.

Of course there will be many views and actions, on the part of people who are by no means counter-revolutionaries and do not seek a return to the old society, which nevertheless fall on the wrong side of the general criteria outlined above. And through lively, vigorous debate and struggle it will be possible both to win such people over to the correct, forward course and on the other hand to drag into the light of day and deal firmly with the minority of people who are pursuing counter-revolutionary objectives wherever they are, including and of special importance, within the Party itself. General criteria such as those above will not themselves serve the purpose of determining which views can and cannot be heard—and people will not even have to agree with these criteria in order to exercise their rights to speak, etc.—but to strengthen the ability of the masses to determine the correct line of advance and unite around it and, in opposition to this, to identify the incorrect course and struggle against it, exposing in the process counter-revolutionary ideas, actions and elements and moving in the appropriate ways against them. As a general method it is important that such ideas be allowed (or dragged) out

into the open air and exposed. Only thus can they really be defeated. Only in this way, and not in a hot house, can the masses be trained in revolutionary ideology and politics.

These basic rights and this general policy will not, however, be applied to the bourgeoisie and its agents. They and all proven counter-revolutionaries will be politically suppressed and prevented from making speeches, organizing meetings, holding demonstrations, and so on—by the action of the masses and the armed force of the proletarian dictatorship when necessary—for their views and actions can only be aimed at destroying the victories the masses have won through great sacrifice and plunging them back into the hell of the old society, with its capitalist exploitation and bourgeois dictatorship. Put simply, they will be dictated over. And if they do make speeches, etc., this will be used as material for criticism and teaching by negative example.

The same principles will be applied to the question of bearing arms. Not only is it a fundamental truth that proletarian revolution can only succeed in overthrowing capitalism through the armed struggle of the broad masses, but in the same way the power established by the proletariat must and can only rest on the armed might of the millions and millions of the working class and its allies; and for this reason, under the rule of the proletariat, they will not only retain their arms but be further trained in the use of various weapons. This, of course, does not mean that everybody will go to work, walk down the street, go shopping, etc. with a gun strapped on, like heroes (and villains) in the old cowboy movies, but that militias will be broadly organized, in factories, neighborhoods, schools—throughout society. Only the bourgeoisie and its agents and all proven counter-revolutionaries will be excluded from this—and, as for them, not only will they have no right to bear or use arms, but they will be the object of the armed dictatorship of the proletariat. The role of these mass militias, in overall coordination with the regular revolutionary armed forces, will be to help safeguard the proletarian state against its enemies—both within the country and outside it, both those openly hostile to the revolution and those who claim the mantle of Marxism and often are even leading Party officials but are exposed as actual counter-revolutionaries.

Here a crucial question comes into sharp focus. The guns must be in the hands of the masses for the revolution to be made, defended and carried forward. But this is not mainly a matter of whether or not the masses literally possess arms, are organized into the militia together with the regular armed forces, etc. This is important, but most fundamental is the question of the political consciousness of the masses who possess these arms and who make up

the armed forces and militia—for only if they are educated and trained in the basic outlook and method of Marxism, in theory and practice, and are enabled through both study and concrete political struggle to distinguish revolution from counter-revolution and genuine from sham Marxism, will they know what to fight for and what to fight against, what to uphold and what to suppress, what they should put their lives on the line to defend and what to crush—and only in this basic sense will the guns really, politically, be in the hands of the masses and will they be able to maintain their rule over society and revolutionize it according to the class outlook and interests of the proletariat.

A specific question that the proletarian state will have to deal with is religion and religious activity. Communists are atheists: they do not believe in supernatural forces or beings of any kind and instead understand that it is the masses themselves, through taking up and applying the principles of Marxism, in an ever deepening spiral of practice and theory, and on that basis grasping and acting in accordance with the laws determining the development of things, who must and will achieve their own emancipation and continually advance humanity's mastery over the rest of nature. And further, they recognize that the role of religion is to instill in the masses the sense that they are powerless before the forces of nature, and those that rule over them in society, and to console them in their misery rather than arousing them to rise up and abolish the source of it through revolutionary struggle. On the other hand, and in fact for this same reason, the Party, as the leading force of the working class and in the proletarian state, cannot and must not attempt to force people to give up religious beliefs, but must wage an ideological struggle over this question and rely on those among the masses who hold such beliefs to cast them off as they come to see, through the advance of the revolution and the increasing mastery of the masses over society—and nature—that these beliefs are incorrect, and more than that a burden carried over from capitalism and the dead weight of backward tradition.

Therefore, the proletarian state will on the one hand uphold the right of people to believe in religion and on the other hand propagate atheism and educate the masses in the scientific world view of Marxism in opposition to all religious beliefs. As for the carrying out of organized religious activities, this will be dealt with in different ways, depending on the circumstances. Those who attempt to carry out counter-revolutionary political activities and the exploitation of the masses under the cloak of religion will be prevented from doing so and politically suppressed, together with counter-revolutionaries of all other kinds. As for those who sup-

port, or at least do not actively oppose, the exercise of political power by the proletariat, the socialist transformation of the economy and the continuing revolutionization of society, they will not be prevented from holding religious services and other similar activities and they will even be provided with the necessary facilities and materials for doing so. However, they will not be allowed special privileges nor, again, permitted to use religion as means to promote reactionary political movements or a cover to exploit the labor of others or otherwise accumulate funds from religious activities and oppress the masses. While providing the necessary facilities and materials for religious persons and activities that do not commit such crimes against the masses, the proletarian state will also monitor and regulate their finances, to prevent them from becoming a source of capital or otherwise employed in violation of the principles and laws of the socialist state. At the same time, through the educational system and other means, the *Bible,* the *Talmud,* the *Koran* and other religious doctrine will be analyzed and criticized with the science of Marxism. In this way, and in general through the process of ideological struggle and persuasion, together with the overall advance through the socialist revolution toward communism, the masses themselves will be enabled to break and cast away the bond of religion and other mental and material shackles and achieve their full emancipation.

The Immediate Consolidation of Victory and the Longer-Term Battle to Transform Society

In discussing how the proletariat in the U.S., upon seizing power, will undertake the transformation of the various spheres of society, different kinds of steps have been outlined. First are those which the proletariat will immediately take in order to politically consolidate the victory it has won through armed struggle, to establish its control over the economy and other key areas. And in addition, a number of longer-term policies have been sketched out, indicating the basic course the proletariat will then follow in carrying forward the thorough revolutionization of society. These together provide the basic picture of what the new society will look like and the struggle that will characterize it, as it first emerges out of the old and then as it stands on its feet and begins the long march to communism, together with the whole international proletariat.

It is impossible to provide more than this basic picture now, for even the specific steps that the proletariat will take as it seizes

power, while following the general principles and basic models summarized here, will depend in their particular details on the actual conditions at the time—the degree of destruction caused by the civil war, and very possibly inter-imperialist war, the different forces arrayed within the broad camp of revolution and in the enemy camp at the time when victory is won, and other things—internally and internationally. But, in general terms there are several different, successive and inter-related, phases that the destruction of the old and the creation of the new society will pass through upon the proletariat's victory on the battlefield, with the different kinds of steps outlined here generally corresponding to the different phases: first, the destruction and dismantling of the old state apparatus and the ruthless suppression of the overthrown bourgeoisie and its counter-revolutionary agents and allies, together with the establishment of the basic organs of power of the working class, and of basic control by the proletarian state over the crucial spheres of the economy; second, the class struggle—against the overthrown exploiters as well as their reactionary allies within the Party and state themselves—to carry out the socialist transformation of ownership of the (major) means of production, in industry and agriculture, and defeat the political resistance of these class enemies; and then the longer-term process of involving the masses in running and transforming all spheres of society and undertaking the protracted struggle to completely revolutionize society toward the goal of communism, during which the key task will be the mobilization of the masses to carry out the class struggle against and defeat the repeated attempts of a new bourgeoisie, engendered within socialist society and especially among the leadership of the Party itself, to seize power from the proletariat and restore capitalism. In sum, while socialist economic construction is very important, the key link and decisive task for the proletariat during the overall transition period between capitalism and communism is revolution—the class struggle against the bourgeoisie and other reactionary forces within the socialist countries and internationally against imperialism, reaction and all exploiting classes.

In fact, what has been summarized in outlining the features of the new society, as the proletariat seizes power and sets out to transform every sphere, will, and can only be, achieved and carried forward through the most resolute struggle by the masses of people, with the proletariat at the head, under the leadership of the Party. But what is equally clear, to every class-conscious worker and all others who seek a radical way forward out of the misery and madness of capitalism, is what a tremendous leap will be taken for the international proletariat and mankind when this struggle is

carried out and the new society is born amidst flame and thunder—and more, that the possibility of making this leap, and the urgency of preparing for it, is making itself felt, both in the development of the objective conditions in this country and the world and in the existence and role of the Party, calling on those who aspire to see such a sunrise to step forward and help sweep away the long night of capitalism.

The Party And The Masses

All the great changes described above are achievable in one way only—proletarian revolution. And proletarian revolution is impossible without a revolutionary party. In this country that means the Revolutionary Communist Party, USA.

There is and there will be more crisis in this country. There will be world war, unless it is prevented by revolution. And there will be outbreaks of struggle—even massive outbreaks. But this, in itself, will never produce revolution. Through all this the bourgeoisie and its many agents, both open and in disguise, will be promoting one false solution after another, all ultimately coming down to one answer—"Keep America Number 1." It is a vision that is as impossible as it is reactionary, but it will have forces grouped around it and can fool many for a time. The real question is, will there be *another* banner raised in this situation—the banner of proletarian revolution. And it is ultimately only a revolutionary party, guided by the revolutionary science of Marxism-Leninism, Mao Tsetung Thought, that can raise and carry that leading banner all the way through to victory.

Without such a party, the spontaneous, if sometimes very powerful, outbreaks of struggle against the many attacks and misery-producing effects of the capitalist system—even attempts at an uprising—all will eventually ebb, leaving the system that spawned them intact, if battered. Such struggles provide a strong basis for the work of the Party, but the Party's crucial role lies in raising the consciousness of the masses involved to go over to something different—the struggle to seize power from the

capitalist class. If the Party only goes tailing behind such struggles, and simply builds the struggle for reform, it will be like having no party at all—or even worse. Such a party would fall into "the movement is everything, the final aim is nothing"—which is revisionism, the betrayal of revolution. The Revolutionary Communist Party, USA stands completely opposed to this line. It has been tempered and strengthened in struggle against this thinking, even within its own ranks, and will continue to wage and deepen the fight against it as it inevitably re-emerges.

A party such as this is the deadly enemy of the bourgeoisie, which of course attacks it in order to wipe out the banner of revolution before the masses in their millions can rally to it, the situation sharpens and the party can lead even broader masses in seizing power in the proletarian revolution. For just that same reason—and because without a party the working class ultimately has nothing at all—the advanced, class-conscious workers must step forward to build, support and defend the RCP, USA—and to unite with and join it. Party-building is a key task for the seizure of power. The Party must strengthen its political ties with the masses, carrying out agitation and propaganda, in particular using its press, supporting and assisting significant outbreaks of protest and struggle. It must strengthen its ties with the international communist movement of which it is one part. The Party must apply the "mass line," using the science of revolution to concentrate the essential lessons from the ideas of the masses and the experience of the whole class struggle (as well as the struggle for production and scientific experiment) in this country and worldwide. In this way, both the Party and the masses will become more and more prepared for the goal of revolution.

The Party must constantly bring forward into its ranks those who dedicate their lives to the cause of international proletarian revolution, who seriously take up the weapon of Marxism-Leninism, Mao Tsetung Thought and carry out the Party's line and tasks among the masses. The members the Party must attract are those whose dedication is not to narrow and personal interests, but to the historic mission of communism. To win victory, the Party must be made up of those who embody the best qualities of the proletariat, who expect sacrifice, jail, even the gas chamber, and not some cushy job. But beyond that, they must be guided by the largeness of mind characteristic of the proletariat, study energetically and actively apply the science of Marxism-Leninism and be prepared to go against any tide that is opposed to Marxism-Leninism, be vanguard fighters among the masses and be ready to take up any post, fulfill any task that serves the revolution, not only in this country but internationally. The Party must be made up of

people whose lives are devoted to the revolutionary struggle of the international proletariat and the achievement of its historic mission: worldwide communism.

This will set the best possible conditions for the day revolution is victorious and the position of the Party in society changes and new contradictions, new—even harder and more historic—struggles come to the fore.

The Party will then occupy the strategic positions of leadership in the government, the economy and society as a whole, at the head of the proletariat in power. Then too, the leadership of the Party will be crucial, and so will continuing to revolutionize the Party. The latter question—of revolutionizing the proletarian party—has proven historically to be critical for the proletariat. For there are today many revisionist states whose leadership, capitalist to the bone, goes under the signboard of a "communist party." In socialist society, the key levers of power will be in the hands of the Party members, who are theoretically and should actually be the most conscious and advanced members of the proletariat. But the real contradictions here, between leaders and led, can be transformed into something else: the relation between exploiters and exploited—Party members can be transformed into bourgeois elements and representatives of a new bourgeoisie. If this happens throughout society, and this new bourgeoisie is able to usurp power from the proletariat, then the society will no longer be a socialist one, but capitalist. This is why the main danger of capitalist restoration once socialism is established comes from within the communist party itself—particularly from a section of those in the top leading positions.

There will be only one way to prevent this—mass revolutionary struggle against it. Through this struggle, together with the study of the science of Marxism, the masses will be enabled to distinguish the capitalist road from the socialist road, revolutionaries from counter-revolutionaries, and to better exercise their role as the masters of society. This was the way pioneered by Mao Tsetung in the Cultural Revolution. It means the genuine communists will support and lead the masses who rebel against new overlords. As Mao put it, "It is right to rebel against reactionaries." Many of those who are in positions of authority and leadership can be revolutionized (or further revolutionized) through this. But there will be those who cannot, and they will have to be overthrown.

The genuine communists will place special emphasis on supporting and leading struggle to narrow the differences between leadership—and those who do "mental work" generally—and the masses. These differences must be attacked "from both sides," in-

volving the masses in the administration of society, in the affairs of state, etc. as well as in shaping and running education, culture and all other spheres of society and in mastering technical, scientific and other fields, on the one hand; and on the other hand, involving intellectual, technical and administrative personnel, political leaders, etc. in productive labor and scientific experiment as well as in political and ideological struggle and the study of Marxism and criticism of bourgeois ideology together with the broad masses.

There will be those who resist this and do so bitterly. While the proletariat wants its own elimination as a class—through the achievement of communist, classless society—there will be some in the Party who do not want to move to the abolition of classes, who do not want to narrow and eventually eliminate such differences, because *they* are in power and view and treat this as a kind of capital—instead of treating revolutionary leadership as a great responsibility to the international proletariat and its historic mission of communism. At every stage in the revolutionary process, there will be those who want to settle down and feather their nests. But they must not be allowed to do it—again a question of mass struggle to prevent this. And this struggle will bring forward new successors to the revolutionary cause. Communists are, in their essence, innovators and most of all rebels—not "able administrators," or people whose orientation is to "get down to business." If society and the Party are not constantly revolutionized through mass struggle, if the revolution is not actively supported and promoted internationally, then the only "business" that will get done is the business of capitalist restoration.

The genuine communists will lead the masses in this decisive battle to revolutionize the Party, and in that way strengthen the Party's vanguard role—as part of the process of revolutionizing all of society and advancing toward the goal of a communist world with the abolition of all class distinctions and thus the need for the Party itself.

A Call To Battle, A Challenge To Dare

Today, two roads open up before the proletariat and masses of people in this country. One is the reactionary, worn and hell-bound path of the red, white and blue. The other road, the revolutionary road, has a certain and victorious destination, but to get there demands conscious and determined work and struggle, right now and in an ongoing way.

The triumph of the proletarian revolution in this and every country is inevitable, because the whole of human history and the development of society itself has prepared the conditions for it and only proletarian revolution can continue to move society forward in this era.

But those who grasp this profound truth cannot sit back and wait for it to come about. Whether revolution will be able to prevent world war, whether, if it does break out, revolutionary opportunities will be seized to the fullest or the imperialists will be able to "save" more of the world than necessary for yet another round on the rack of capitalism—these urgent questions depend significantly on what we do.

All over the world things are sharpening rapidly. Especially in a situation such as this, the actions taken by the advanced section of the proletariat are of decisive significance. Here, our course now will in no small part determine the degree of our contribution to the international advance of the proletariat—even including our ability, if conditions fully ripen, to achieve the historic breakthrough of overthrowing U.S. imperialism. These moments, particularly in a country such as this, are rare in history and their outcome has a profound influence on history for years, even decades, to come. Those who do understand what is going on and choose not to act are contributing to the prolonging of this destructive and decadent rule of imperialism. This program is a declaration of war, and at the same time a call to action and a battle plan for destroying the old and creating the new. It must be taken up.

Today the words of Mao Tsetung ring out with full force:

"Seize the Day, Seize the Hour."

New Constitution

of the Revolutionary Communist Party, USA

CONSTITUTION OF THE REVOLUTIONARY COMMUNIST PARTY, USA

General Line of the Revolutionary Communist Party, USA

The Revolutionary Communist Party of the USA is the political party of the working class in the United States, the vanguard of the proletariat in this country, and a part of the communist movement internationally, just as the working class in the U.S. is one part of the revolutionary movement of the international proletariat.

The Revolutionary Communist Party, USA takes Marxism-Leninism, Mao Tsetung Thought as the theoretical basis guiding its thinking.

The basic programme of the Revolutionary Communist Party, USA is the complete overthrow of the bourgeoisie, the establishment of the all-around dictatorship of the proletariat in place of the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie and the triumph of socialism over capitalism in all spheres of society and in all countries as the necessary transition to the ultimate aim of the Party: the realization of communism with the abolition of all class distinctions. This basic programme can be accomplished only on the basis of and through the unity and mutual support in revolutionary struggle of the proletariat of all countries; communism can only be achieved on a world scale through the final defeat and elimination of the bourgeoisie and all exploiting classes and of every vestige of exploiting class society throughout the entire world.

The roots of the Revolutionary Communist Party, USA were established and nurtured in the mass revolutionary upsurges of the 1960s and early 1970s, in the United States and internationally, against imperialism and reaction. The party of the proletariat in this country was forged through and amidst fiery struggle, both in this society and throughout the world as a whole and within the communist movement in the U.S. and internationally. And, since its formation in 1975, the Revolutionary Communist Party, USA has been tempered and strengthened through the fierce struggle, including within its own ranks, to defend and uphold the red banner of the international proletariat and to fight in accordance with its revolutionary outlook and interests in a situation marked by tremendous and increasing crisis, turmoil and accelerating developments toward both world war and revolution.

Most especially, the Revolutionary Communist Party, USA has defended and upheld the historic lessons and achievements of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution waged by the working class and masses of people in China from the mid-1960s to the mid-1970s under the guidance of Mao Tsetung to beat back attempts to restore capitalism under the command of a new bourgeoisie centered within the Communist Party itself at its highest levels. This Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, a political revolution carried out under the conditions of socialism and in the face of capitalist restoration in the Soviet Union, represents the highest peak yet reached by the international proletariat in forging the ascent toward the goal of communism; and the contributions of Mao Tsetung, particularly in leading such an unprecedented revolution, represent an enrichment and development of Marxism-Leninism, the revolutionary science of the international proletariat. All this remains true despite the fact that this Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution was in and of itself ultimately unable to prevent capitalist restoration and that, shortly after the death of Mao Tsetung in 1976, the new bourgeoisie inside the Communist Party of China seized power from the proletariat through an armed coup d'etat.

The experience of the proletarian revolution and socialist society, not only in China but in the Soviet Union and other countries, has shown that after the old exploiting classes are overthrown and deprived of ownership of the means of production, after they are isolated and defeated politically, there still remain for a long time many "birthmarks" of the old society within the new, both in the economic relations of the people in society and in the superstructure of politics and ideology. These can and must be increasingly struggled against and restricted by the proletariat in power, in moving toward the final goal of completely eliminating

them. But until this ultimate goal is reached these "birthmarks" will continue to provide the basis for a new bourgeoisie to be constantly engendered within socialist society and to wage struggle against the proletariat in an attempt to seize power and restore capitalism. Thus the proletariat can only maintain and further consolidate its political power and the socialist system by continually waging struggle against the bourgeoisie, most especially this new bourgeoisie, and by repeatedly overthrowing its representatives who usurp power from the proletariat in various spheres within socialist society.

Further, the experience of the proletarian revolution and socialist society has shown that this revolution cannot succeed all at once in every country, or even in a short period throughout the world, but rather the proletariat is most likely to come to power in one or several countries at a time and this situation will last over a fairly long period. Therefore in every country where it succeeds in winning power the proletariat will, to one degree or another, find its new state surrounded by hostile reactionary states which will use various means—outright military attack and subversion, as well as economic, diplomatic and political pressure—to attempt to destroy the socialist state. And these reactionary powers will also seek out agents within the government and the vanguard party in the socialist countries in coordination with their external aggression, subversion and pressure. And even more, the goal of the proletariat in any one country cannot be simply the seizure and holding of power in that country but the international advance of the proletariat and its final victory, the achievement of communism. Unless this is actively supported and promoted, then degeneration will take place from within. Thus the continuing class struggle within the socialist country and the international class struggle interconnect with and influence each other, and the proletariat in power can only defeat attempts at capitalist restoration and continue advancing toward the goal of communism by continuing the revolution within the socialist country and actively supporting and assisting it worldwide, while resisting and defeating the attempts to strangle and crush it from outside.

Still further, experience has shown that the heart of the new bourgeoisie within socialist society, the greatest danger to the dictatorship of the proletariat, both in and of itself and in alliance with international capital, and therefore the main target of the continuing revolution under this proletarian dictatorship lies within the vanguard party of the proletariat itself, especially among its top leadership. This is because, with the seizure of power by the proletariat and the socialization of ownership of the means of production, the party becomes both the leading political center of the

socialist state and main directing force of the economy, and the contradiction between the party as the leading group and the working class and masses under its leadership is a concentrated expression of the contradictions characterizing socialist society as a transition from the old society to fully communist, classless society. Where and to the extent that party members, especially leading party officials, deviate from Marxism-Leninism, depart from the socialist road and divorce themselves from the masses, their position of authority turns into its opposite, is transformed from leadership guiding the masses in revolution toward the goal of communism into oppression over the masses, forcing them back toward capitalism—in the name, however, of "socialism" and "communism."

Thus, throughout the entire socialist transition period until the worldwide victory of communism is finally achieved, the proletariat and masses of people, led by those party members and officials who continue to adhere to and apply Marxism-Leninism, must not only uphold the dictatorship of the proletariat but must continue to wage struggle in all spheres, both practical and theoretical, to distinguish genuine from sham Marxism-Leninism and the socialist from the capitalist road in order to expose and defeat the attempts of the bourgeoisie, especially the bourgeoisie in the party, to usurp power and restore capitalism, and in order to continue revolutionizing all of society. And, as a crucial part of this, the party itself must be continually revolutionized amidst the storms of this mass struggle and the interrelated struggle within the party itself between the two lines of Marxism-Leninism and opportunism and the two roads of socialism and capitalism. Through this continual process, punctuated repeatedly by all-out struggles to determine which class in fact holds power and in which direction society is moving, unreformable opportunists within the party must be exposed and driven out, while broader and broader sections of the working class and masses are tempered and steeled in struggle and fresh forces from among them, especially those who come to the fore in the mass revolutionary struggles, are brought into the party, so that the revolutionary line and vanguard role of the party is safeguarded and strengthened and new generations of revolutionaries are reared within the party and in society as a whole. Thus, while socialist economic construction is very important, the key link and decisive task for the proletariat during this transition period is revolution—the class struggle against the bourgeoisie and other reactionary forces within the socialist countries and internationally against imperialism, reaction and all exploiting classes.

For all these reasons, the proletarian revolution and the ad-

vance to communism cannot be and has not been a smooth and even process, proceeding in a straight line, but one full of twists and turns, even temporary setbacks and reversals, and therefore proceeding in a spiral. But, this has been an upward spiral, with three major mileposts: the first actual seizure of power by the proletariat in the short-lived Paris Commune in 1871; the successful consolidation of power and establishment of a socialist economy in the world's first socialist state, the Soviet Union, where the proletariat retained state power and remained on the socialist road for four decades, until the mid-1950s; and the Chinese revolution, in which one-fourth of humanity not only embarked on the socialist road but, through the course of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, made the greatest advances along that road so far.

Not only through its victories but also through its defeats the proletariat as well as the communist movement internationally, through the process of sharp struggle itself, has time and again summed up the historical lessons and made new leaps forward. This has been guided on the highest level by Mao Tsetung, who by applying Marxism-Leninism to both the positive and negative experience of the proletarian revolution, and deepening this revolutionary science in the process, summed up that the final victory of the proletariat and the ultimate achievement of communism throughout the world would inevitably be realized amidst earth-shaking storms and unprecedented struggles. Such is the stand of Marxism-Leninism, Mao Tsetung Thought; such is the stand of the Revolutionary Communist Party, USA.

In the United States today, rivaled as a bastion of reaction and enemy of the international proletariat only by the equally imperialist Soviet Union, the first great step of the proletarian revolution—the seizure of power by armed force—is not only a historic task that demands to be accomplished. It is also an urgent necessity, not only for the working class and the great majority of people in the U.S. itself but for the international proletariat and people of the world. It will constitute a tremendous blow against the imperialist system and reaction everywhere and will mark a tremendous leap toward the liberation of the proletariat and oppressed peoples throughout the world—toward the emancipation of mankind itself from the fetters of capitalism and every form and manifestation of class division in society.

To carry out this first, great step the Revolutionary Communist Party, USA, as the vanguard of the proletariat in the United States, must systematically and unceasingly take up the preparation of its own ranks as well as the masses for the eventual development of a revolutionary situation and then resolutely and uncompromisingly lead them in seizing the opportunity to win

state power through the armed overthrow of the capitalist state in the U.S. when the conditions do ripen. Create public opinion, seize power—raise the consciousness of the masses and, when through the development of the objective situation and the work of the Party they become convinced of the necessity and possibility of proletarian revolution, organize and lead them in the armed onslaught against the military forces and political institutions of capitalism—this is the basic method through which the preparation for revolution and then the revolutionary overthrow of U.S. imperialism will be realized. It is the central task of the Revolutionary Communist Party, USA.

Throughout this entire process, and beyond, until the final victory of the proletarian revolution and the attainment of communism—upon which the distinction between the Party and the masses will be eliminated and the Party will cease to exist—the Party must both learn from and lead the working class and its allies through the application of the mass line. This means to take the ideas of the masses and the experience of the class struggle (and the struggle for production and scientific experiment), in the U.S. and internationally, and by applying the science of revolution to them concentrate the essential lessons, distinguishing what is correct from what is incorrect, and then return these concentrated ideas to the masses, propagate them widely and deeply among the masses and unite with the masses to apply them to transform the world with class struggle as the key link. This, too, is a continual process which proceeds in an upward spiral, in accordance with the development of the objective situation and the class struggle overall.

Throughout this process, the building and strengthening of the Party is crucial. While the masses make history and must be relied on to make revolution, only with the leadership of a vanguard party can they do so.

To unite the broadest ranks of the working class, together with its allies, both to carry out the armed overthrow of capitalism and to maintain the dictatorship of the proletariat and advance along the socialist road toward the goal of communism, the Revolutionary Communist Party, USA must apply the strategic plan and principle of the united front. This means to unite under its leadership all forces that can be united against the enemy, which requires that the Party consistently direct the main spearhead against that enemy and just as consistently struggle to bring to the forefront the revolutionary outlook and interests of the proletariat and rely first and foremost on the class-conscious proletariat.

In the U.S. the firmest allies of the proletariat are the strug-

gles of the oppressed nationalities in this country against their oppression as peoples. Given the whole history as well as the present-day reality of what is now the United States of America, proletarian revolution is not even conceivable here unless it takes up and carries through as a central and decisive question the fight to abolish every form of oppression and discrimination against these peoples and to uproot every basis for this, material and ideological. The revolutionary unity of the class-conscious proletarian movement with the struggles of the oppressed nationalities against their oppression as peoples must and will be forged as the solid core of the broader united front. Such a united front is the strategy for proletarian revolution in the United States.

At the same time, the Revolutionary Communist Party, USA, as the political party of the working class in this country, must lead the masses of people in the U.S. to firmly unite with the international proletariat as a whole and the oppressed peoples and nations of the world in the common struggle against imperialism and reaction, especially where the spearhead of that struggle is directed against U.S. imperialism. Because the working class in the United States is but one division in the army of the international proletariat, because the historic mission of communism can only be achieved through the united and mutually supportive struggle of the workers of all countries, the Revolutionary Communist Party, USA recognizes and is determined to carry out its responsibility to itself uphold and to educate and lead the proletariat and masses in this country according to the basic principles of proletarian internationalism. As Lenin stressed, for the proletariat there is one and only one genuine internationalism: to wage the struggle for revolution in one's own country while supporting this same struggle in all other countries—and this is of special importance in an imperialist country, particularly one like the U.S. today, which not only oppresses whole nations and hundreds of millions of people around the world but seeks to enlist the proletariat and masses in the U.S. in the filthy cause of maintaining this oppression. The proletariat in the U.S. will never overthrow and defeat the bourgeoisie in this country, it will never make its contribution to the revolutionary cause of the international proletariat, until it thoroughly renounces patriotic allegiance to U.S. imperialism, breaks completely with the chauvinist "America first" stand and unites wholeheartedly and fights side by side with the proletariat and peoples of the world in the struggle against imperialism and reaction.

As for the question of war, the only war the class-conscious proletariat in the U.S. wants to fight, the war for which the working class and masses in this country are being prepared through

the work of the Revolutionary Communist Party, USA, is a revolutionary civil war to defeat and overthrow the bourgeoisie and the capitalist state and replace bourgeois dictatorship with the dictatorship of the proletariat. On a world scale, the proletariat supports the revolutionary struggles, including armed struggle as the highest form, of the workers and the oppressed peoples and nations against imperialism and reaction; it opposes the wars of plunder of the imperialists and reactionaries and actively seeks their defeat at the hands of the people. The Revolutionary Communist Party, USA will work tirelessly to educate the proletariat and masses in this country to the truth that they have no fatherland to defend, that in a world war with the Soviet Union, while the proletariat has no interests in the victory of either imperialist, it can only welcome the defeats suffered by its own imperialist bourgeoisie—and more, that the proletariat must utilize such defeats and the weakening of the ruling class to prepare for and finally carry out its overthrow when the possibility ripens. Only this is consistent with proletarian internationalism, with the revolutionary interests of the working class and with its struggle to break free of and ultimately bury the capitalist system and all of its evils, including the monstrosity of war.

On the basis of proletarian internationalism, the Revolutionary Communist Party, USA actively seeks to unite with the genuine Marxist-Leninist parties and organizations in other countries and to carry out struggle on the most fundamental and pressing ideological and political questions confronting the international proletariat today, in order to achieve the greatest possible clarity and unity first and foremost within the communist movement internationally and also as broadly as possible with other forces struggling against imperialism and reaction. This is a crucial part of both upholding the general principles of proletarian internationalism and of meeting the urgent demands and requirements of the present and developing situation.

Today, the imperialist system is in its greatest crisis. This, as always under such a system, will mean even more intense suffering for the masses of people throughout the world, including inter-imperialist world war, unless it can be prevented by revolution. Such a war would represent an extreme concentration of the contradictions of the imperialist system and all of this will give rise to tremendous opportunities, including the possibility of making revolution in the U.S., one of the most powerful imperialist countries and bastions of reaction. The proletariat and the communist movement internationally are regrouping—in the wake of a severe, if temporary, setback in China and its repercussions, but also in the situation of profound and intensifying imperialist crisis.

Revolutionary waves are rising once more in many parts of the world, pounding more powerfully again at imperialism and reaction, including its most powerful present bastions, the two superpowers. Members of the Revolutionary Communist Party, USA, who dedicate their lives to the struggle for communism, must rise to the challenge and resolutely advance into and through the storms and stress—achieve the greatest preparation, strike the most decisive blows at our own ruling class, build the firmest unity with the revolutionary struggle of the international proletariat and peoples of the world, and make the greatest contribution possible to the cause of proletarian revolution and communism worldwide.

MEMBERSHIP

Article 1

Any proletarian or any other person involved in the revolutionary struggle who accepts the Constitution of the Party, is committed to working actively in a Party organization, to carrying out the Party's decisions and to observing Party discipline and paying Party membership dues, may become a member of the Revolutionary Communist Party, USA.

Those who join the Party should be fearless in the face of the enemy and dedicated in the cause of the proletariat. They should expect and be prepared for persecution, imprisonment and murder at the hands of the enemy, and not a soft job, a comfortable position and a career. But beyond that, they must be guided by the largeness of mind characteristic of the proletariat, study energetically and actively apply the science of Marxism-Leninism and be prepared to go against any tide that is opposed to Marxism-Leninism, be vanguard fighters among the masses and be ready to take up any post, fulfill any task that serves the revolution, not only in the particular country but internationally. The Party must be made up of people whose lives are devoted to the revolutionary struggle of the international proletariat and the achievement of its historic mission: worldwide communism.

Article 2

Applicants for Party membership must go through the procedure for admission individually. An applicant must apply for membership, be recommended by two Party members and discuss his/her application with a delegation of Party members. The Party unit concerned must, to the extent possible under the given condi-

tions, seek the opinions of the masses as to the attitude and practice of the applicant in relation to the question of proletarian revolution and the basic principles of the Party's line. Admission into the Party involves an extremely serious responsibility on the part of both the applicant and the unit and should be discussed and considered in this light. Application is subject to acceptance by the general membership meeting of the Party unit and approval by the next higher Party committee.

Article 3

Members of the Revolutionary Communist Party, USA must:

1. Keep constantly in mind, base themselves wholeheartedly on and dedicate their whole lives to the proletarian revolution and the historic mission of the international proletariat: the achievement of communism throughout the world.
2. Conscientiously study Marxism-Leninism, Mao Tsetung Thought, thoroughly criticize and fight against revisionism and all forms of opportunism and struggle to grasp, defend, apply and develop the correct line in opposition to the incorrect line.
3. Firmly uphold the revolutionary unity of the working class and proletarian internationalism and combat all forms of chauvinism and racism, while also struggling against nationalism and other forms of bourgeois ideology, within the Party as well as among the masses.
4. Actively carry out the Party's central task and contribute to the distribution of its press, especially its newspaper, as its main weapon in exposing the capitalist system and the bourgeoisie, creating public opinion and preparing for the seizure of power. With this as the main weapon they must support the outbreaks of protest and struggle of the masses and arouse them to revolution.
5. Systematically apply the mass line in all their work.
6. Be bold in making criticism and self-criticism.
7. Resolutely uphold the Party's discipline and take initiative in carrying out its line and policies.
8. Uphold proletarian morality.

Article 4

When Party members violate Party discipline, the Party organization at the level concerned shall, within its functions and powers and on the merits of each case, take appropriate disciplinary measures—warning, serious warning, removal from

posts in the Party, placing on probation within the Party, termination of their Party membership, or expulsion from the Party. Such decisions must be reported to the next higher body and the general right of members to appeal also applies in these cases.

The period for which a Party member is placed on probation shall not exceed one year. During this period he/she has no right to vote or elect or be elected.

A Party member whose revolutionary will has degenerated and who, after repeated education and serious struggle to rekindle his/her revolutionary spirit, does not change, should be persuaded to withdraw from the Party. When, after a period of discussion and struggle, a Party member asks to withdraw from the Party, the Party unit concerned shall report the matter to the next higher Party committee and, after consultation, drop his/her membership.

Opportunists, degenerates and elements hostile to the proletarian revolution must have their membership terminated. Counter-revolutionaries, unrepentant chieftains of opportunist headquarters and enemy agents must be expelled—cleared out of the Party and not readmitted.

Article 5

The organizational principle of the Party is democratic centralism. This principle combines centralized leadership and the greatest degree of discipline with the fullest discussion and struggle over line and policy within the Party and the selection and political supervision of Party leaders by Party members, on the basis of Marxism-Leninism, Mao Tsetung Thought.

The leadership of the Party at all levels shall be elected through democratic consultation in accordance with the requirements of leadership of the proletarian revolution—those selected as leaders should be the comrades who have demonstrated the greatest ability to grasp and apply the principles of Marxism-Leninism, Mao Tsetung Thought in a living and sweeping way and to arm and lead others in doing the same. Leadership in a communist organization is not and must not be treated as personal capital, but as a solemn responsibility to the Party and the international proletariat; the relationship and differences in roles between leaders in the Party and those under their leadership represents a division of labor through which they all make their greatest contribution to the struggle for communism, and not a bourgeois political machine of bigshots and flunkies. Ideological and political line is decisive; struggle around line is crucial to correctly handling the leadership/led contradiction both within the Party and more

broadly between the Party and the masses.

The whole Party must observe Party discipline: the individual is subordinate to the Party; the minority is subordinate to the majority; the lower level is subordinate to the higher level; and the entire Party is subordinate to the National Party Congress, or to the Central Committee chosen by it when this Party Congress is not in session.

Standing bodies within the Party shall regularly report on their work to the general membership meetings of the bodies to which they are directly responsible. Party members and especially Party leadership on all levels must constantly listen to the opinions of the masses, both inside and outside the Party, and encourage their criticism. Party leaders and leading bodies must accept the political supervision of those they are responsible for leading. Party members have the right to criticize leading bodies or members of the Party at all levels and make proposals to them.

If Party members hold different views with regard to the decisions or directives of the Party body they serve on, or others above it, they may reserve their opinion while maintaining Party discipline and have the right to bypass immediate leadership and report or appeal directly to the higher levels, up to and including the Central Committee. It is absolutely impermissible to suppress criticism or to retaliate. It is essential to create a political situation in which there is both centralism and democracy, both unified line and broad initiative, both discipline and ideological struggle, both unity of will and action and personal ease of mind and liveliness.

CENTRAL ORGANS

Article 6

The highest body of the Party is the National Party Congress, and when it is not in session, the Central Committee elected by it.

Article 7

The National Party Congress shall be held every 5 years. Under special circumstances it may be convened before its due date or postponed.

Article 8

The Central Committee elects its Chairman and other officers and its standing bodies, to which it delegates all of its authority

when it is not in session. The Central Committee, under the leadership of its Chairman and other officers and its standing bodies, shall set up a number of necessary bodies, and in some cases shall directly guide the work of Party members, in order to carry out the day-to-day work of the national Party leadership and guide the overall work of the Party on the basis of centralized guidance and unified command.

BASIC UNITS OF THE PARTY

Article 9

Party branches shall be set up as the basic units of the Party, to provide political leadership first and foremost among the proletariat, especially its most oppressed sections, but also among other sections of the masses, in order to carry out the central task and strategy of the Party and carry through the struggle to realize the basic programme of the Party.

Article 10

Officers of the Party branches shall be chosen on the basis of democratic consultation, and this shall be reviewed yearly on the same basis; under special circumstances this review may occur earlier or later than the one-year interval.

Article 11

The main tasks of the Party branches are:

1. To give constant education to Party members and supporters concerning the ideological and political line and lead them in fighting in unity with and at the head of the proletariat and broad masses against the class enemy and for the goal of proletarian revolution within the U.S. and internationally.
2. To lead Party members and supporters in studying Marxism-Leninism, Mao Tsetung Thought conscientiously, thoroughly criticizing and fighting against revisionism and all forms of opportunism, and struggling to grasp, defend, apply and develop the correct line in opposition to the incorrect line.
3. To lead Party members in fulfilling all their basic requirements as Party members (as enumerated in Article 3).
4. To maintain close political ties with the masses, constantly listen to their opinions and demands, and wage an active ideological struggle so as to keep Party life vigorous.

5. To propagate and carry out the line and policies of the Party, implement its decisions and fulfill every task assigned by the Party.
6. To take in new Party members, enforce Party discipline and constantly consolidate the Party organizations, getting rid of the stale and taking in the fresh, so as to constantly safeguard and strengthen the proletarian-revolutionary character of the Party and its role as the vanguard of the working class and proletarian revolution in the U.S. and a fighting detachment of the international communist movement.

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